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Sir Richard HOLLAND'S

Buke of the Houlate

published from the Bannatyne Ms.

with Studies in the Plot, Age and Structure of the Poem.

By
Arthur Diebler, Phil. Dr.

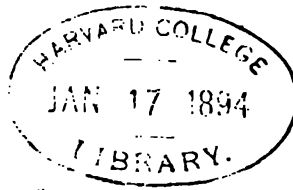


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Investigations on Holland, the author of the Buke of the Houlate.

A strong assertion of national life and the emotion of patriotism are the principal traces, which the struggle for independence left on Scottish poetry. In an almost obtrusive way the national elements and fervent thoughts of liberty especially prevail in the poets of the earlier period. Scottish freedom and Scottish heroes are conspicuously thrust forward in their verse. The descriptive poetry is likewise tributary to a like passionate nationality. Conventional life, conventional landscape are almost unknown to Scottish poets; individuality is dominant, as it were, in nature and people. The ardent love of their native country invests their descriptions with a lovely colouring, whose brilliancy bestows a peculiar charm upon them. Their brightness and vivacity of feeling, united to a deep religious piety, the vigorous fun of their satirical strokes, their lavish exaggeration of humour and wit animate the poetry of Scotland and well repay its study.

A good deal of this excellence is to be observed in Richard Holland, who claims a particular interest among the Scottish 'makars' of the 15th century.

His Buke of the Houlate, which I am about to put before the reader, has been handed down to posterity in two manuscripts:

1. The Ms. of John Asloan, who wrote it in the beginning of the 16th century.

This valuable Ms, containing a select choice of early Scottish poetry, was formerly in the Auchinleck Library at Edinburgh; it is now in the possession of Lord Talbot de Malahide, Malahide Castle, Co. Dublin.

2. The well known Ms. of George Bannatyne, collected and written by him in 1568, and preserved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh.

The text published hereafter has been taken from the Bannatyne Ms, and collated with Asloan Ms (ed. by David Laing, Edinb. 1823¹); thus it will comparatively be easy to construe a satisfactory reading. In questionable points, no doubt, the Bannatyne Ms. is mostly preferable to the other.

As to our author, Holland, next to nothing is known about his personal life. From his poem we know him to be a decided adherent of the famous House of Douglas, whose glory and power he exhibits in a long series of stanzas. Beyond this, no kind of direct information about his life seems to be left; the conclusions we may be able to draw from his poem, will be elucidated in the course of these inquiries.

¹) According to Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Paris 1862, only 70 copies have been printed of this edition.

As the first allusion to Holland's poem may be considered some verses of his contemporary Henry the Minstrel, who in the X. book of his William Wallace (about 1460) refers to it in the following lines:

'So feryt it, be wyrkyng off Natur,
How a *Howlat complend off his fetherame*,
Quhill Deym Natur tuk off ilk byrd, but blame,
A fayr fethyr, and to the *Howlat* gaiff;
Than he throuch pryd reboytit all the layff.' (Jamieson's Edition, Buke X, 130.)

Later on, Holland seems to be alluded to in an Act of Parliament, March 1482: After having subdued and exiled the Douglasses, hitherto so formidable to the crown, the King of Scotland promised a free pardon to all those who would forsake Douglas and come over to the King, 'except the personis that pleses his hienes (the King) to except, that is to say, the treatouris James of Douglace, . . . Schir Richard Holland and Maister Patrik Haliburtoun, preistis, and vther sic like treatouris that ar sworne Inglismen . . .'¹). As the name of Holland was never common in Scotland, and as this priest Schir Richard Holland was so decided a partisan of the noble House of Douglas, it has been very plausibly conjectured that this Holland was no other than the author of our Buke of the Houlate. Nor is it improbable that he had been the domestic chaplain of Archibald Douglas²), to whose wife he dedicated his poem. The conjecture, that our poet was a priest, is moreover strengthened by his exact knowledge of all kinds of religious matters and ceremonies as will be exhibited occasionally in the subsequent examinations.

In the beginning of the 16th century Holland is mentioned, together with other Scottish and English poets, by Dunbar and Lyndsay, and from the manner in which he is alluded to, we may conclude that he was esteemed as a writer of some distinction. Dunbar, for instance, in his 'Lament for the Death of the Makaris' connects Holland's name with that of Barbour:

'Holland and Barbour he (Death) has berevit;
Allace, that he nought with ws lewit!'

(Abbotsford Series of the Scottish Poets, ed. by George Eyre—Todd. Glasgow 1892.)

Lyndsay mentions our poet in 'The Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo, Kyng James the Fyft':

Quintyn, Merser, Rowle, Henderson, Hay, and Holland,
and continues emphatically to praise their works:

'Thocht thay be deid, thair libellis bene levand,
Quhilkis to reheirs makeith redaris to rejose'.³)

Reasons for dating the poem in connection with historical allusions and events.

The contents of the Buke of the Houlate afford a fairly good guide for determining the time of its compilation. The poet dedicates his book to a 'dow of Dunbar, dowit with a Douglas', and residing in the Forest of Ternway, 'in middis of Murray' (i. e. Moray)⁴). The lady here mentioned was Elizabeth Dunbar, who about 1445 brought the earldom of Moray to her husband Archibald Douglas, since her father had died without leaving a male descendant (B. of the Houle. line 548—559). Ternway, from which our poem is likewise dated, had thus become the seat of

¹) Compare Parliaments of Scotland, vol. II, p. 139.

²) Comp. David Irving, The History of Scottish Poetry, ed. by Carlyle, Edinb. 1861, p. 164.

³) See The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay, by David Laing, Edinb. 1879, vol. II, p. 61.

⁴) See the last stanza of the Buke of the Houlate.

Archibald Douglas from about 1445. This year is in the first line to be regarded as 'terminus a quo'. On the other hand our poem must be dated previous to the battle of Arkinholm (March 1455), for on that occasion the husband of the lady, to whom the poem is addressed, was slain, and his brother Hugh, Earl of Ormond (mentioned in line 599), was taken prisoner and executed. The poem bears traces of having been written during the Earl's lifetime. But there are further reasons for dating it sooner. All the relations of the noble House of Douglas were exiled from Scotland in April 1455. By this time the power of the Douglasses was totally broken, and later on it would have been quite impossible to portray the splendour and power of that family in such a way as it has been done by Holland. According to our poem, the Douglasses still lived with the king upon good terms; they are called 'tendir and trewe' (line 403), and the author who was so sincerely attached to the Douglasses, speaks of the king as 'our souerane, quhilk salbe lord and ledar our bred Britane all quhair' (line 374—375).

As a devoted adherent to the Douglasses, Holland would besides have no more exhibited so loyal a feeling, when the king, in violation of hospitality and a safe conduct, had murdered William Douglas at Stirling Castle (21. Febr. 1452). We cannot but acknowledge this date to be a closer 'terminus ad quem'.

Before 1452 the power of the Douglasses rose to the highest pitch. The young monarch had after his marriage with Mary of Guelders, in 1448, arrested many nobles, among them Livingstone, governor of Stirling Castle, and had bestowed their forfeited estates partly upon the Earls of Douglas. The latter raised their claims and pretensions from year to year, and 1449—1451 their partisans especially increased, since William Douglas had renewed a secret bond with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, the most powerful nobles in the north of Scotland. These allies then began to threaten the royal authority in a most serious manner. The revenues and retainers of the Douglasses equalled at least those of the king, so that William Douglas was sufficiently powerful to represent, with a large retinue, the Scottish nobility at the Pope's jubilee at Rome, in 1450, where he was solemnly received by Pope Nicolaus V.¹⁾ — On his return William Douglas even visited the king of England. It can only have been during this period that our poet had reason to eulogize his protectors in the enthusiastic way, of which we read in stanza XXX—XLVII, at a time when the Douglasses did not show any moderation in their claims, when the 'grene tre of Douglas bure branchis on bred blythest of hew', (line 398—399), when 'four branchis²⁾ flureist our all, grittest of gre' (line 407), and when those different branches of the family still agreed with the king.

But as the Douglasses became too turbulent in their ambition, their dazzling prosperity only served to hasten their ruin. Their downfall began with the assassination of William Douglas, in February 1452, and from this time their power was struck at its very root.

Neither is there anything of this decline to be remarked in our poem, nor of the hostilities between the king and the Douglasses, nor of the ensuing civil war, which ended with the destruction and banishment of the different branches from Scotland. No allusion whatever is to be found in the Houlate to any of these events after 1452.

But there is another point worth consideration. It is striking that the poet describes in a very prolix manner the appeal of the Owl to the Pope and the reception by him. The detailed exhibition of the Pope's influence, of his array and council, the enumeration of persons belonging

¹⁾ See Gardiner, A Student's History of England, London 1892.

²⁾ With these 4 branches our author evidently means: James, 9th Earl of Douglas, and his brothers Hugh, Earl of Ormond (line 599), John, Lord of Balveny, and Archibald, Earl of Moray (line 547—557), to whose wife the book is dedicated.

to the papal court and, in particular, the full statement of the formalities during the reception, entertainment and deliberations (line 92—347; 659—709; 846—866), seem to justify the conjecture that William Douglas's journey to Rome was not without influence on the respective parts of our poem. As is evidenced by the above-mentioned Act of Parliament, our poet was a priest, and perhaps the domestic chaplain of a Douglas. Therefore, it is not impossible that he joined William Douglas in his visit to the Pope's jubilee (in 1450), where he had occasion to get fully acquainted with the Pope's rich array and his manner of treating his guests, both ecclesiastical and temporal estates. Our poem was evidently written after this event, where the poet found material for his instruction and observations.¹⁾ The minute details of the assembly can hardly be explained otherwise, at a time when it was quite out of question to gain such intelligence in Scotland. Or at least this journey to Rome, if Holland did not join in it himself, must have been a fact of general interest, the consequences of which are to be traced in our poem. Since all the other reasons and events, given before, do not contradict the composition after 1450, and since the year 1452 cannot be called in question (William Douglas was already murdered in February 1452), I have reason to decide in favour of 1451 as the date of compilation.

Plot and contents of the Buke of the Houlate.²⁾

No other of Holland's writings seems to have reached our times, except the Houlate, though we may conclude that a poet, endowed with talents such as are exhibited in this poem, did not confine his qualities to a single composition. In spite of its artificial structure, the Houlate abounds in an elegance and opulence of style, which we cannot but admire. With its profound morality, its fervent enthusiasm for the independence of Scotland and the most valiant defenders of that country, — with its delightful gaiety and pleasing garrulity, with its fine description of nature, Holland's Buke of the Houlate does, indeed, claim considerable merit. But altogether it is a curious compilation of so many heterogeneous elements that its value is confined to certain portions, while the whole poem cannot be freed from the reproach of wanting a strict disposition and unity. It is even difficult to state at once its impelling cause and its literary character. There are stanzas which do not in the least transgress the limits of a mere apologue, whose moral simply consists in blaming pride and violence; but there are also portions of the poem, which characterize it as an admirable panegyric, while others, with a stern sarcasm and biting irony, exhibit its satirical outlines. When adapting, in a fanciful way, the peculiarities of birds to the different classes of mankind, our poet must have followed a certain tendency. The long digressions from the original fable, containing both political and personal allusions, prove our poem to be more than an apologue. But before inquiring any further into the plot of the Houlate, we will give an analysis of it, going now and then into its details, according to their respective value for unveiling the difficulties of meaning and design.

In the morning of a fine day of the month of May, the poet takes a walk, and reaching a river he sits down by its side (stanza I & II). Admiring the fair scenery, by which he is surrounded (st. III), he hears a piteous lamentation, uttered by an Owl, who is looking with horror at his shadow in the water (IV—V). The Owl accuses Dame Nature of having shaped him so ugly and resolves to appeal to the Pope of birds, in the hope that, through the prayers

¹⁾ Intercalations as "and syne culd I se", line 359, "I wist", line 659, or "as I rycht knew", line 172, where the poet introduces himself, cannot but strengthen my suggestion of his personal observations.

²⁾ In the following lines I am now and then indebted to Laing's excellent inquiries and to a letter of Walter Scott, printed in Laing's edition of "the Buke of the Howlat".

and intercession of His Holiness, Dame Nature may be prevailed upon to alter the Owl's appearance and to transform him into a respectable bird (VI). Accordingly, he comes to the Peacock, who is "fader of all foule, pastour and paip", and reverently kneeling down, receives the Pope's benediction (VII, VIII). Complaining of his ugly figure and face, by which he resembles a fool more than a fowl, the Owl begs the Pope to intercede with Christ for a favourable consideration of his demand (IX). The Pope has pity on him, but being unable to decide the matter alone, he promises to convoke a general council of the Clerical States. He calls on his "cubiculare", a proud man in rich apparel, and bids him send for his secretary, the Turtle, who enters without delay (X). The Pope charges him to write to all "staitis of kirk", summoning them to appear before His Holiness; and the Swallow, as a herald, is despatched to convey the Pope's will (XI). Everywhere the messenger is received with reverence; after having richly rewarded him, the "beaux sires" (bewschyris) lose no time in complying with the Pope's request and hasten to the assembly (XII). There are among them pheasants¹), cranes, swans and other birds representing patriarchs, cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, priors, canons of different orders, poor friars and numerous official personages belonging to the service of the church. After having described, with a striking minuteness, the ecclesiastical dignities, and the habits and apparels of each, the poet shows their array around the Holy Father, who blesses them all (XIII—XIX). The Owl, in a "lamentabill langage" puts forward his request, and the council proceeds to deliberate on the case (XX—XXI).

'Sum said to, sum fra
Sum nay, and sum ȝa,
Bayth pro and contra,
Thus argewe thaj all.'

And they argue earnestly! But a great variety of opinions being expressed, the representatives of the church decline coming to any decision without the concurrence of the temporal states; for allied with them they expect a more favourable consideration of their petition to Dame Nature, who is their common mistress. It is, therefore, agreed upon to invite for this "diete" the noble Emperor, the Dukes, Earls, Lords and many others,

'So þat þe spirituale state,
And þe seculare consate
Mycht all gang in a gate,
Tendir and trewe.' (stanza XXII).

Now the Turtle, as secretary, writes the letters, "lelest in lede", and the Swallow is again sent off on this errand. In the Tower of Babylon he finds the Emperor, who graciously receives the message, and summoning his train of attendants, immediately sets out with them on their journey. They speedily arrive in Europe and reach the forest, in which the general convocation is held (XXIII—XXIV).

The Emperor's attendants are then enumerated by the poet; and it is striking that they are all represented by birds of prey, as the Eagle, i. e. the "athill Emperoure"²), the Hawk etc., while the ecclesiastical dignities, as we have remarked, have been allotted to domestic birds.

¹) The author speaks of 4 pheasants representing 4 patriarchs; there he means, no doubt, the 4 bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antiochia and Jerusalem, who held the title of patriarchs. In these lines Holland proves to be remarkably well versed in ecclesiastical authorities and their apparel; he seems to have seen all these representatives, — and as a priest, — which he evidently was, he had a rather good intelligence for such things. A layman would hardly have been able to give such a detailed enumeration of ecclesiastical offices as in stanza XIII—XIX.

²) This "athill Emperoure" can be nobody else but Frederic III (1440—1493); he is called "souerane in sale", line 279; "of ancestry ald", l. 291; "most awfull in erd", l. 314.

Among the Kings, Dukes, Earls, Knights and other worldly representatives, we find the Woodpecker who, as a pursuivant, displays the armorial bearings of the Pope, the Emperor of "Almane", and the Kings of France and Scotland (XXV—XXIX). Next to the arms of the Scottish sovereign are those of the doughty Douglasses,

"knawin throw all christindome be cognoscence hable". (line 381)

The following enthusiastic lines are significant both of the poet's admiring the Douglasses and his strong attachment to their noble family. Holland calls them the "weir wall" of Scotland, and the very word of Douglas sounds

"so wondir warme, and euir ȝit waß;

It synkis sone in all pairte

Off a trew Scottis hairte,

Reiosand ws invart etc. (stanza XXX).

*gular want to
society shown in
unbroken fable -
early*

The tender feeling for the mighty family of the Douglasses induces our poet to discontinue the allegory, and he takes delight in entertaining us with a long and detailed description of the arms and exploits of that valiant family. He is happy to enjoy their protectorship; and the stanzas devoted to their noble ancestor, the good Lord James Douglas¹⁾, who had been chosen by Robert the Bruce to carry his heart to the Holy Land, are very animated (XXXV—XLII). After this romantic episode, which bears witness of the author's enthusiasm for the Douglasses, Holland proceeds to describe the different branches of their pedigree, represented upon the pursuivant's mail-coat as

". . . . a grene tre, gudly and gay,

That bure branchis on bred blythest of hew" (line 399).

In stanza XLIII—XLV Holland mentions the noble Archibald Douglas, who by his marriage with the above-mentioned Elizabeth Dunbar got the title of an Earl of Moray; then the poet relates, how Galloway, Ettrick and Lauder came to the Douglasses by royal donation or conquest.

But with all his minuteness, which the author exhibits in praising the merits and arms of the different descendants, — who all sacrificed their blood for the independence of Scotland —, he is afraid he has not said enough, and more than once refers the reader to professed heralds 'to tell þe haill' (line 581).

This long digression on the famous House of Douglas, of which Holland in addition mentions the Earls of Moray and of Ormond as the youngest members (XLVI—XLVII), has absolutely nothing to do with the fable itself. It is a plain panegyric to the poet's protectors. We will give no more details of it now, but shall touch upon its contents, when discussing the tendency of the poem.

As we have remarked above, the birds of temporal dignities arrived at the forest, where the general convocation is to plead the Owls cause. They are welcomed by the papal dignitaries, and kindly invited to dinner²⁾ by the Pope himself (L—LII). Then

"the paip past to his place, in his pontificall;

The athill empriour annon nycht him neir.

Kingis and patrearkis, kend with cardynnallis all,

Addressit thame to þat deß, and dukis so deir." (stanza LIII).

Bishops, earls, abbots, priors, squires and all the rest of 'senȝeouris', soldiers and subject men

¹⁾ He fell against the Saracens in the battle of Sevilla, in 1330.

²⁾ The detailed description of the pomp and arrangements of the feast especially give colour to my conjecture that Holland took part with William Douglas in the Pope's jubilee. The lines referring thereto clearly bear the stamp of personal observations.

are then shown their places at table by the Falcon, who is marshal; others are appointed stewards or cooks.

In the midst of the banquet some singing birds enter, who as minstrels begin a hymn to the Virgin Mary¹⁾ (LVI—LVIII).

In order to heighten its effect, all the minstrels and musicians with about 25 different instruments join in the song. —

The list of all these instruments, contained in stanza LIX is quite a curious one; and though it is nothing but a dry enumeration, it is of high interest to the student of rhapsody²⁾.

Then the Jay is introduced who, in the capacity of a juggler, exhibits several odd tricks and necromancies³⁾ (LX—LXI).

He is succeeded by the Rook, in the character of a bard of Ireland, who speaks a fearful gibberish⁴⁾, beginning with an absurd song of the genealogy of Irish kings; as he is continually chattering and annoying the banqueters by his lies, he is at last sharply reprimanded by the "rurall dene", i. e. the Raven (LXII—LXIII). But his continued insolence and loquacity is checked by the entrance of two tumbling birds, the Plover and the Cuckoo; they rush upon him, pull him by the hair and defile him over and over. Then they wash the poor bard and, to the great amusement of the assembly, they fall on each other. The Cuckoo flings the Plover (tuquheit) into the fire, till at last, after many a mutual abuse, they get reconciled, kiss each other and sit down again (LXIV—LXV).

The entertainments at table being over, the assembled states proceed to business, and the Owl's petition is readily approved of by all the council. Both the spiritual and the temporal powers resolve to submit the matter to Dame Nature.

They beseech her to descend at once and "at þair alleris instance" the goddess consents to their appeal, bidding each bird lend a feather to the Owl (LXVI—LXVIII).

Thus decorated with a gay-coloured plumage, that Dame Nature has joined before her departure, the Owl has been transformed into the most beautiful bird of all Scotland (LXIX).

But haughtiness, arrogance, and insolence are the consequences of this change. The Owl begins to vie with the Pope, and to rival princes and patriarchs, boasting he is of the same blood. His insulting behaviour becoming at last quite intolerable, all the fowls assemble again, and apply to Dame Nature for redress (LXX—LXXI):

"My first making, quop scho, wes vnamendable;"

but in order to please the assembly, the goddess allows each bird to take off its feather again, thus reducing the Owl to his original hideousness.

¹⁾ This hymn shows a fine poetical diction and a deep religious mind. The lines, where Jesus is called the throne of Salomon, the worthy wand of Aaron and the fleece of Gideon, could hardly have been composed by anybody else but a priest: this seems to be a confirmation of the suggestion that our poet was a priest, and that he was meant in the above-mentioned Act of Parliament.

²⁾ On the enumeration of musical instruments in Wace's Brut, see ten Brink, *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*, p. 177.

Such a list is likewise given in Douglas's *Palice of Honour*, Edinb. 1579, p. 14.

From the Middle High German literature we may quote Trimberg's *Renner*, where similar strokes are given as to musical entertainments at table.

³⁾ These highly interesting stanzas also find a counter-part in the *Palice of Honour*, p. 56; compare besides Irving, *Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 275.

⁴⁾ The poet very probably wished to caricature the Irish language and its representative by a profusion of guttural sounds. As will be exhibited on page 23, the dialect imitated by 'the bard out of Ireland' is not Irish, but Scottish Gaelic.

In his degradation the Owl is nearly driven to despair; breathing rage against all the world, he at last appeases his fury by some excellent moral reflections on the danger of pride (LXXII—LXXV).

Recommending this lesson of humiliation to a general consideration:

"Now mek your mirrour be me, all maner of man,
The princis, prolattis of pryd,"

the author concludes with dedicating the poem to the wife of Archibald Douglas.

With its allegories and various contents, alternating between fable, panegyric, and description, our poem is one of the most curious writings to be met with in old English and Scottish literature.

*comes to us in form
a moral fable, illustrative of
a danger of pride.*

Scope and tendency of our poem.

Though the particulars of the fable seem to have the most considerable share in the Houlate, it may be doubtful whether we are to call this poem a mere apologue, or whether this apologue is only an integrant part of it.

As to my judgment, I believe that the fable with its moral against pride is nothing but the frame for the poet's leading idea consisting in the eulogy on the famous House of Douglas. As a decided partisan of these noble champions, Holland felt the ardent desire to give vent to his enthusiasm for their exploits; but being of too delicate a feeling, he declined offering such a plain panegyric without any tactful covering. The dedication of the poem to a member of that family adds to the evidence of my opinion. The lady, to whom the author "drew this dyte", might well be delighted with such a glorification of a family, to which she belonged herself by her marriage to Archibald, Earl of Douglas. — Descended herself¹⁾ from one of the most renowned families of Scotland, she must have been inspired by the consciousness of being matched with a worthy defender of the high titles and fame that are rendered conspicuous in our poem. But for the very reason of her high birth, it would neither have corresponded to the fine tact of the poet nor perhaps suited with the delicate mind of this lady²⁾ to offer her a eulogy of her family without any disguise. An additional evidence for my suggestion, — that the poem is in the first instance a panegyric, — is given by the unveiled manner, in which Holland has introduced that glorification, while all the rest of the poem, except the moral, is veiled in allegory. As it has already been pointed out in the analysis, this allegory is manifestly discontinued, when the poet comes to speak of the Douglasses.

By his description of all the ecclesiastical dignities and temporal powers that are introduced into the fable, our author finds an opportunity particularly favourable to raise this family above the common level. He makes them stand next to the Pope, to the Emperor of Germany and to the Kings of France and Scotland. Thus his patrons cannot but strikingly contrast with all the other mighty families and states of Scotland, amongst whom the Douglasses are alone praised as the renowned defenders of Scottish independence. Being then at the highest pitch of their renown,³⁾

¹⁾ She was Elizabeth, the daughter of James Dunbar, Earl of Moray; See Dictionary of National Biography under Holland.

²⁾ In the last stanza our poet calls her "a dow", i. e. a dove of Dunbar, which may be regarded as a proof of her tender feeling.

³⁾ Archibald III. had received the duchy of Touraine from King Charles VII. of France; Archibald IV. had been presented with the county of Longueville in Normandy; William Douglas, as a favourite of James II., had supplanted Crichton and Livingstone and had been created general-lieutenant of Scotland (till 1452). Two of

which made them extremely formidable even to the royal house, they were, indeed, not unjustly ranged at the side of the highest worldly powers. As we know from history, the Douglasses raised their own armies and frequently waged war, just according to their own and independent disposition.

But by this very contrast of the Douglasses with the other states, assembled in appealing to Dame Nature, a considerable part of the fable falls within the horizon of that panegyric. The convocation of all classes of people, — which is only a matter of little importance as far as the fable is concerned, — affords the desired inducement of particularly elevating the Douglasses and of enumerating their noble ancestors with all their merits for the freedom of Scotland.

When anticipating that the Kings of his country¹⁾ should one day become sovereigns over all Britain, Holland evidently alludes to the powerful influence of his patrons, whose assistance would in particular be necessary to realize this prediction.

Should it be objected to my judgment on the scope, that the eulogy seems rather to be an episodical intercalation than the essential part, I can only consider this circumstance to be contributive to the poet's intention not to eulogize without giving a suitable dress to his poetical effusions.

If then there seems to be a certain imperfection in the composition, for want of a clear disposition, I am rather inclined to find this fault excusable; the same reproach could be made to Holland, if we were to adopt the other possibility and give his poem the name of a fable. Such disguises and amplifications of the intrinsic scheme were not uncommon with the authors of that time. Chaucer, Lydgate, Dunbar and many others were not free from them. See p. 1

Holland simply compiled his verses in accordance with the prevailing tendency of a panegyric; but as to the rules of a precise disposition, he did not care much about them. Therefore his poetical impulses gave way to some episodical digressions, far exceeding the original plot, but frequently indemnifying us for many a long and tedious allegory or enumeration of birds and blazons. Neither the hymn to the Virgin, nor the necromancies of the juggler, neither the song of the Irish bard, nor the performances of the two highland bards at the banquet, are to be called anything else but occasional intercalations, without any specific tendency. But they serve besides the purpose of giving a pleasant by-work to the original plot, and afford a more general interest, than would be the case with the fable of the Houlate.

The following passage:

“Now mek your mirrour be me, *all maner of man*,
Ye princis, prelattis of pryd, for pennyis and prow
 That pullis the pure ay,
Ye sall sing as I say,
 All your welth will away,
 Thus I werne zow!” (stanza LXXV),

containing the morality of the apologue and giving a general lesson to everybody, may likewise be regarded as a special hint to the Douglasses not to abuse their power. Their extreme influence, which raised them almost to a level with the crown, was in fact the source of great national commotion and conflict. Though Holland was an intimate friend of the Douglas, and

the Earl's brothers were elevated to the peerage: Hugh had been created Earl of Ormond, and John had become Lord Balveny. Compare besides the enlargement of the possessions of the Douglasses by the acquisition of Galloway, Ettrick and Lauder (stanza 44—45).

¹⁾ “Quhilk salbe lord and ledar
 Our bred Britane all quhair!” stanza XXIX.

took more to their party than to that of the King¹⁾, it is indeed explicable from his honest attachment, that he has interwoven his panegyric with a fable, which was particularly fit for giving a covert warning to that powerful family. And he may have had the more reason to do so, if he was the domestic chaplain of a Douglas, as Irving suggests.²⁾ We know, besides, that their exorbitant power was effectively broken a short time after the compilation of our poem, by the King himself, who killed William Douglas at Stirling Castle in 1452. Holland was even entitled to give such a warning to his patrons, as shortly before that time William Douglas was suspected of treason for having renewed a secret bond with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, the most powerful nobles in the north, who threatened the royal authority. — As to the tendency of our poem, it has further been alleged by Holland's first editor,³⁾ that the Buke of the Houlate was a satire against the Scottish King, James II., and that this monarch was identified with the figure of the Owl. Though this suggestion has already been rejected, it is worth discussing, in order to get an exact idea of the poet's tendency. Pinkerton's opinion seems, *prima vista*, to be supported by the strong argument that our poet, by eulogizing the great House of Douglas in such an apparent manner, must indirectly have thrown a taunt at the person of James II., whose accomplishments are nowhere elucidated in the poem.⁴⁾ But if we were really to understand that our poet likened James II. to the Houlate in borrowed feathers, how could Holland then state as the King's type such a very foul and despised bird? If James had descended from no royal blood, his final degradation would have produced a striking resemblance to the Houlate; and if we were inclined to adopt Pinkerton's opinion, then we ought to acknowledge a previous wretchedness and subjection of James, which is absolutely not reconcilable with his royal descent and dignities. And it must be owned that the position of King James II. was at no time to be compared with the miserable state of the Houlate. On the contrary our author hopes that he may one day become 'the lord and ledar our bred Britane all quhair, as Sanct Mergaretis⁵⁾ air' (stanza 29). Saying so, Holland would contradict his own satire, if we were to interpret his poem in such a way.

It has further been alleged that Holland concealed his satire against the King as much as possible, because he was afraid of its consequences. But as a protégé of the powerful Douglasses, who had so frequently braved the royal authority, what could he be afraid of? Moreover we have to presume that our composition had originally been appropriated to a member of that family alone, so that the King could hardly gain intelligence of it, at a time when general publication was out of question. According to W. Scott, it would never have answered the purpose of a satirist to cover his meaning so entirely that no point of resemblance occurred between his writing and its objects. — If I ought to discover in the poem a satire against the King, Holland would have exerted a particular comparison of the Douglasses with the King alone by extolling the merits of one party and blaming the feeble state of the other. Our poet, however, does not say one word of insult against the crown, but he respectfully describes its signs together with those of the Emperor of Germany and the King of France. And it must be added, that in spite of the power of the nobles, and in spite of the weakness of some Scottish kings, monarchy then was popular in Scotland. Especially James II. was, on his succession, received by the people, as a deliverer from the oppression of the barons, who often proved to be the turbulent tyrants of the country.

¹⁾ See the Act of Parliament, mentioned p. 6.

²⁾ *ibid.*

³⁾ Pinkerton in his edition of Scottish Poems, vol. III, London 1792.

⁴⁾ Pinkerton does not mention this argument, which indeed seems to be in his favour; he only refers to a reading in line 934, which however proves to be erroneous. He read *crowne* instead of *rowme*. Comp. Irving p. 167.

⁵⁾ With this Margaret the author most probably means Malcolm Canmore's queen.

There are perhaps, in the rest of our poem, some strokes of satire or some local allusions, which may have enhanced its charms, but it is rather difficult to find everywhere the connecting link in a chain of events, "obscured by the mist of so many ages". It is particularly difficult to find out the person, alluded to under the figure of the Owl.

We might perhaps think of the two statesmen Crichton and Livingstone; the former saw his influence broken by a Douglas, while the latter's estates were forfeited by the King and partly bestowed upon a Douglas. Crichton, however, knew how to rise after his fall, and being a thoroughly adroit statesman, he continued afterwards to be chancellor. Livingstone, who was a sworn enemy of the Douglasses, and showed by the forfeiture of his estates some resemblance to the Owl, might be taken into consideration with some better reason. Gutmann in his dissertation, p. 22—23, has pointed out the "wodwiß" mentioned in line 616, whom he erroneously thinks to be an illegitimate descendent of a Douglas, possibly sketched under the character of the Owl. However seductive this idea may be at first sight, how could the poet then name this person among the worldly dignities, convoked in order to deliberate on the transformation of this very Owl? And then Gutmann has apparently mistaken the respective passage: "The rowch wodwiß wald pat bustounis bare" does not mean a faun, that had bastards, but it means a wild man who would wear a bastoon or a club; the wodwiß is simply a fierce-looking man in a blazon, as they were very common in heraldry and pageants of former times.

I rather believe that Holland did not aim with his Owl at any special person, but that he borrowed this bird from the Esopian fable as a terrific image of pride and arrogance to everybody, if not particularly to the Douglasses themselves (see above).

If we are briefly to resume our judgment on the scope and tendency of the Buke of the Houlate, we cannot but call it in the first line an occasional poem, of which the primitive cause lies in the encomium on the noble protectors of the poet. The fable of the Owl gives the frame, while all the other digressions, — the entertainments at table, the description of nature a. s. o. — are but by-work and intercalations of a mere episodic character.

If Pinkerton's suggestion turned out in his favour, then the leading motive would be expressed by the fable of the Owl; but this editor has evidently mistaken the plot by leaving out in his print the very glorification of the Douglasses as being 'tedious and prolix', since it is just the essential part of the poem.

At all events, this panegyric could not likewise be depreciated at a time, when the Douglasses were the most popular champions of their country, and the most valiant defenders of its independence.

In spite of its occasional prolixity and bombastic style, we will be just enough to acknowledge our poem to be of considerable value, consisting especially in an animated description and a fine poetical exhibition of national and friendly enthusiasm.

Besides we are indebted to our poet for many an interesting glance at the manners and customs of that period. By the description of the entertainments at the banquet, he gives an excellent illustration of the social life, as well as he elucidates the range and authority of the different temporal and ecclesiastical states, such as they followed each other at general convocations. When reading those respective lines over and over again, I cannot deny the conviction, that Holland accompanied Douglas on his journey to Rome, where he gained such a thorough knowledge of the apparel of worldly and ecclesiastical dignities. Accordingly, I venture to presume that the assembly, described in our poem, may in some respects be a picture of the festivals at the Pope's jubilee in 1450, or no less an imitation of the great councils of Constance and Basil, of which the latter at least must then have been in everybody's remembrance. In order to corroborate this opinion, I may only refer to stanza XXII, where the ecclesiastical states acknowledge that they

are incompetent in treating general questions "but entent of þe temperale", and where the principal results of those great councils are expressed in the following terms:

. . . "þat þe spirituale state,
And þe seculare consate
Mycht all gang in a gate,
Tendir and trewe!"

I cannot but find a remarkable analogy between the dissolution of the council of Basil by Pope Nicolaus V, in 1448, and the first convocation of the birds in our fable, where only the ecclesiastical dignities had been represented. Feeling their insufficiency, the Pope adjourns their deliberations in order to make common cause with the Emperor and the other secular powers (stanza 22—24). After having been invited to the diet, they share in the consequences of their common resolutions with the papal power. This final council of all birds, in our poem, strikingly corresponds to the concordate of Aschaffenburg, which Pope Nicolaus V. concluded with Emperor Frederic the Third, a short time after the dissolution of the council of Basil. Thus the Owl, with his new dress, may be regarded as a general representative of worldly power and influence, that could be transformed and altered by the common efforts of church and state, whose eventual and real size, however, was predestinated by Dame Nature, i. e. by God.

Another coincidence of the tenor of our poem with the events of that time may not be left unmentioned. Holland exhibits at full length the fight of the good Lord James Douglas with the "Sarazenis mycht", line 484 (or the "hethin men", l. 490, 543, the "Mahonis men", l. 497 etc.), and with great enthusiasm Holland dwells on this struggle of Christendom against Islamism; these descriptions were, no doubt, influenced by the fights against the Turks, in which Pope Nicolaus V. and Emperor Frederic III.¹⁾, as is well known, took a considerable share about the time of our author's compilation.

Sources of the poem and the influence of other poets.

rebus fable
The basis of our poem is formed by the fable of a despised bird, who in a borrowed plumage changes his natural disposition and becomes the very prototype of pride and arrogance, for which he is humiliated again.

The original outlines of this moral lesson are given, as it has been pointed out by Gutmann²⁾, in a fable of Odo de Ciringtonia: Qualiter cornix conquesta est aquilae de turpitudine sua.³⁾

The Latin apologue proves to be a paraphrase of the Esopian fable, of which I will only quote its leading ideas from the Latin version: Graculus tumens superbia et vanam audaciam sumens pennas pavonis sustulit seque illis ornavit, et coepit contempnere suos etc.⁴⁾ The Crow has been simply replaced by the Owl.

¹⁾ The Emperor of Germany is thought to be residing at Babylon, in our poem. This circumstance is to be deduced from the historical fact that, since the quarrel of investiture the German Emperors were generally called Nebucadnezar or Kings of Babylon, while the German inhabitants were designated by the papal party with the abusive word of Babylonii.

²⁾ Untersuchungen über das mitttelenglische (!) Gedicht The Buke of the Howlat, Dissertation, Halle 1892. p. 10

³⁾ Hervieux, Les fabulistes latins jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge. Paris 1894; tome II, p. 600
or Oesterley, Lemcke's Jahrbuch für roman. u. engl. Lit. IX, p. 149.

⁴⁾ See Steinhöwel's Aesop, p. 127, and Romulus, Paraphrasen des Phaedrus, p. 60.

But it was not at all necessary that Holland should have known the fables of Odo; he could well have followed any other modified Latin version¹⁾, or an old English translation.²⁾

As to Dame Nature, who in our poem decorates the Owl by means of her intercession, she may likewise have been introduced from such a paraphrase of an Esopian fable, where Juno has been replaced by Dame Nature as an arbitress³⁾; more likely, however, she has been adopted from Chaucer (e. g. in the Romaunt of the Rose, line 4874, in the Assembly of Foules, line 368, 379).

For his allegorical turns Holland was especially indebted to Chaucer's Assembly of Foules⁴⁾, from which he apparently has also introduced some birds into his Buke of the Houlate. Like Chaucer's poem, — containing a covert panegyric to Richard II. and written for the occasion of the King's nuptials with Anna of Bohemia, — the Buke of the Houlate is also to be considered as a panegyric, dedicated to a person of high rank.

In his description of the arms and exploits of Lord James Douglas, who was the truest and most valiant companion of Robert Bruce, our author seems now and then to have been influenced by Barbour's poem on that famous King; the coincidences, however, showing more the character of reminiscences, I may abstain from quoting the parallel passages.

¹⁾ Perhaps the so-called "Anglo-Latin Romulus". See Hervieux, I. p. 583, or G. Paris, Journal des savants, 1884, p. 22 sq.

²⁾ Though the existence of such an old English version has often been a point of controversy, and has been regarded as a literary charlatanry of old fabulists, the existence can no more be doubtful to any one who has carefully traced the development of the mediaeval fable. Roquefort, Chabaille, Hervieux, G. Paris and many German scholars approve of such a mediating English version. — I may be allowed to add a striking evidence:

The 83. fable of Marie de France is headed: Dou Champ et de la Serpent. There is no doubt that its source was the Esopian fable: De vipera et lima. (In officina cuiusdam fabri introisse dicitur uipera. Dum quereret aliquid ciborum rodere coepit limam. Tunc lima ridens ait ad uiperam: Quid uis improba tuos ledere dentes? Ipsa sum quae consueui omne ferrum rodere, sed et si quid forte est asperum. fricando facio lene, quae si angulum tersero, si quid ibidem est ipsa precido. Ideo cum acriore mihi certandum est. Oesterley, Die Paraphrasen des Phaedrus III, 12).

But how could the translation of Marie de France be explained, unless she relied on an English fable as her source: "On the file and the serpent"? — She evidently read *fiel*, (field or feld) instead of file and wrote a fable, whose remarkable brevity in comparison with her other fables proves that she did not know how to deal with it, and how to accommodate this error. Her translation has no sense whatever. In Harl. Ms 978, fol. 62 verso the French version reads thus:

Une serpent trespassot ia,
Parmi un *champ* translanca.
Li *chans* li dist: reguarde tei,
Tu n'enportes nent de mei.

file=lima occurs in the Ancren Riwe. about 1225, and field=campus in the Ormulum, about 1200, feld in Lazamon's Brut about 1205. Marie de France, who wrote about the same time, might also have misunderstood her source, if it belonged to an earlier period, by reading *feald*=campus instead of *feol*=lima. The same fable is to be found in Ysopet I, XLVIII: D'un Serpent qui rungait an dens une Lime (Lafontaine V, 16), and in Ysopet I, XV: Comment un fol serpent runge une Lime d'acier (Robert, Fables inédites I 338, 341). — When studying the sources of Lydgate's und Henrisone's fables, we come to the same conclusion, that there must have existed such a mediating Anglo-Latin Romulus. (See Lydgate's Aesopübersetzung, Diss. von P. Sauerstein, Halle 1885, and my dissertation on Henrisone's Fabeldichtungen, Halle 1885.)

³⁾ Dame Nature occurs besides in the fables of Marie de France, Lydgate and Henrisone (l. 2845), who all seem to have known such an English or Latin paraphrase. — Nature, as an arbitress, is already to be met with in Alanus ab Insulis (died about 1202), in his De planctu Naturae. Compare Grundriss der german. Philologie p. 676 (Brandl.)

⁴⁾ Some parallel passages have already been quoted by Gutmann, in his dissertation, p. 11—14. Though Chaucer's influence is a matter of fact, it proves to be a very slight one, since Holland's plot is on the whole quite original and, setting aside a few parallels, almost independent of Chaucer.

As to his heraldic details, Holland may have been indebted to some book of blazonry, to which he refers himself in line 581, and which then was a favourite class of English and Scottish poetry. Such a heraldic writer at our poet's time was Nicolas Upton (about 1440); see E. E. T. S. *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, London 1869, p. 102. Even Lydgate turns out to have been a heraldic writer.¹⁾

In his hymn to the Virgin Mary, (stanza 56—58), Holland was evidently indebted to Lydgate, of whom two poems in praise of the Virgin are preserved in Additional Ms. 29729, fol. 129 verso and fol. 130 verso. There are many striking reminiscences in the respective parts of the Houlate to the latter of them. In order to show the resemblance between both these hymns, I quote Lydgate's verses from the above-mentioned manuscript, adding the number of the similar lines in the Buke of the Houlate (B H):

Heyl, glorious virgyne, ground of all owr grace,	B H 722, 735, 742
Heyl, mother of cryst, in pure virginite,	B H 718
Heyle, whome the sone of god chose for his place,	B H 731, 740
Sent from above doune fro þe faders see,	B H 723, 744, 745
Heyll, with thyn ere, conceyvynge sent to the	
The masager Gabriell in this wyse seyng,	B H 729
Heyl, full of grace, our lorde is with the,	B H 722
Heyll, with thyne humble hert to it obeynge.	
Heyl, that with god so prevy art and pleyne,	
Amonge all wemen blesyd mot thow be,	B H 727
Hayll, þat concevyd and bere without peyne	
The second person in trinete,	B H 718
Heyll, chaste lylve dessendyng frome Jesse	
Heyll, crystall clere, heyll, closet of clenness,	B H 724
Heyll, blesyd burioun, heyll, blome of all bewtie,	
Fayrest of fayre, aye flouryng in fayrenesse!	

¹⁾ There is a Scotch copy of a Poem on Heraldry published in *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, p. 93, which proves to be written by Lydgate. As it has already been stated by the learned editor, Dr. F. J. Furnivall, in the notes, p. 102, "this poem does not seem to have been originally written by a Scotchman". The whole habitus of the poem makes me believe that its author was nobody else but Lydgate, and my suggestion is besides strengthened by the following arguments:

Line 29 und 30 the poet says:

	"The eldest, gret, most populus, mortal were (i. e. war) wes at <i>thebes</i> , <i>quhiche at lynth I dit write</i> "
line 36—39	"Bot eftir that <i>troy</i> , quhar so many kingis war Seging without, and other within the toune, So many princis, knychtis, and peple there, <i>as this my buk the most sentence did sounne</i> ," etc.
line 50—53	"Than <i>troy</i> distroyit. the werris endit, the lordis I seir landis removit; and so <i>brutus</i> <i>his lif and dait my buk efter recordis</i> "

These allusions to his own works (the *Troy-Book* and the *Story of Thebes*), which he wrote "at lynth" (at full length) absolutely prove Lydgate's authorship.

Brandl in *Grundriss der german. Phil.* p. 717 ascribes this heraldic poem to William Cumyng of Inverallochy, whom he also believes to be the author of a *Troy-Book* no longer extant, a *Story of Thebes* and a *Brut*. It would be strange, if they all should be lost; they are simply to be ascribed to Lydgate, who likewise wrote the heraldic poem himself.

Heyle, emprise of heven, highest of estate,	BH 730 (princes)
Heyle, mayden makeles, heyll, moder of pytie,	BH 747
Heyll, quene of comfort, of comfort desolate,	
When thow thy chyld sawe dyenge on a tre,	
Heyll, whos wprysyng full shynyng was to the,	
Heyll, that oure myschefes olde hast newe redressyd;	
Heyll, by whos mene this lorde hath made ws fre,	BH 740
The frute of thy wombe, aye be he blessyd!	
Heyll, stedfast sterc, with stremes bemyng lyght,	BH 724
Heyll, þat byheld full clerly with thyn eye,	
Thy sone ascendyng by his propar myght,	
Persyng the cloudes in to heven hye,	
Wher it was sayd to them of Galile,	
Whye marvayl ye thus lokyng wp in veyne?	
This lorde þat thus asended myghtelye,	
Sythe as he styeth, he shall come down ageyne.	
Heyl, floure of vertue, whos fayrnys may not vade,	
Heyll, rose on ryse most holssome of odour,	
Heyll, whome the holy gost can joye and glade,	
In the assumynge vp in to his toure.	
Heyll, comely quene, crowned with honoure,	BH 718
Heyll, mediatryce and mene for mankynde,	BH 719
Heyl, salve to seke, vs synners sende socoure,	BH 720, 745
Thes joyes fyve empryntynge in yowr mynde. — Amen!	
Finis.	

In spite of these similarities, pointed out between the two hymns, we cannot but own that Holland deserves to be called an entirely original poet; his verses, full of ardour and genuine feeling, are much superior to those of Lydgate.

As far as we have traced the influence of other poets, we find nowhere reason to charge Holland with a mere plagiarism. The acknowledgment of his originality may be applied to the fable as well as to the panegyric and descriptive parts, each of which is displayed at full length.

The structure of our poem.

The Buke of the Houlate equally claims a particular interest by its structure. It is written in stanzas of 13 lines, bound together both by alliteration and final rhymes. The same formation of stanzas is rarely met with in old English literature. As it has been stated by Trautmann (*Anglia* II, p. 408) this structure occurs besides in 'the Anturs of Arther at the Tarnewathelan', 'Rauf Coilgear', 'The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane', and in the Prologue to the 8th book of Gawin Douglas's translation of the 'Aeneid'; besides in several Mysteries.¹⁾

With some modification the same stanza occurs in Huchown's 'Susanne', where the ninth line, however, contains only 2 or 3 syllables with one accent, — and in a poem printed in the *Reliquiae Antiquae* II, 7 (one stanza in *Anglia* I, 92).²⁾

¹⁾ See Luick, *Mittelengl. Metrik*, *Anglia* XII, p. 438—439.

²⁾ See *Anglia* II, 408.

Trautmann mentions besides two poems: 'St. John the Evangelist'¹⁾ and 'The Song of the Husbandman'²⁾, either showing, in the beginning of their stanzas, 8 alliterative lines as in the Buke of the Houlate, bound together by rhyme and alliteration, while the rest of the stanzas in those poems is different from the formation in Holland's Houlate. 'St. John the Evangelist' adds 6 lines with the rhymes *c c d c c d* and 'The Song of the Husbandman' only 4 lines with *c d c d*. To the first eight lines with the alternating rhymes of *a b a b a b a b* is joined in our poem a certain kind of 'wheel' or 'burthen'³⁾ with the close rhymes of *c d d c*. But there is a peculiarity which may not pass unnoticed. This wheel consisted in earlier specimens only of short lines, the first of which was called the 'bob'.⁴⁾ But in our poem this bob, introducing the wheel, is lengthened out into a full alliterative verse which, however, evidently belongs to the wheel for having the same rhyme as the last line of the respective wheel (*c d d d c*).

The wheel or burthen in the first stanza of our poem, for instance, consists of the following verses:

That all was amiable ower þe air and þe *erd*: (= bob)
 Thus, throw þe cliftis so cleir,
 Alone but fallow or feir,
 I raikit till a riweir, þat ryallye *reird*.

Moreover it seems to have been considered as essential to the construction of our poem, that the leading thought or expression, with which a stanza concludes, should be taken up and repeated in the subsequent stanza. This peculiarity, generally called 'iteration',⁵⁾ is frequently to be observed in old Scottish poetry, and has neither been unknown to the Provencial bards nor to the old lyric poets of the western parts of England.⁶⁾

In order to state this iteration in our composition, I will only quote a few specimens by citing, in every instance, the concluding and the beginning lines of two succeeding stanzas, (the words with cursive types show the iteration):

{	stanza II	Als was blyith off <i>the birth</i>
		þat þe <i>ground buire</i> .
{	stanza III	<i>The birth</i> þat þe <i>ground bure</i> was broudyn on bredis;
	stanza III	Thairfoir in haist will I hence
{		To þe <i>purpoß</i>
	stanza IV	Off that <i>purpoß</i> in þat place, be pryme of þe day;
{	stanza XVI	With his neb ffor mestare
		<i>Vpoun</i> þe see <i>sand</i> .
{	stanza XVII	<i>Vpoun</i> þe <i>sand</i> zit I saw, as thesaurare tane.

As it may already have been observed in the first example, iteration may likewise refer to the last line but one in the preceding stanza; in stanza II and III the respective word was *birth*. Similar cases are to be observed

¹⁾ Printed in Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse, Edit. by G. G. Perry. E. E. T. S.

²⁾ Printed in The Political Songs of England. Edit. by Th. Wright. Camden Society, p. 149, and in Altengl. Dichtungen des Ms. Harl. 2253; edit. by K. Bøddeker, Berlin 1870, p. 102—105.

³⁾ For these inquiries see Guest, A History of English Rhythms, London 1838, vol. II, p. 171 etc.; Schipper, Altenglische Metrik, p. 330 etc.,

Luick, Die engl. Stabreimzeile im XIV., XV. u. XVI. Jahrhundert, Anglia XI, p. 392 u. 553, and Luick, Mittelenglische Metrik, Anglia XII, p. 437—453.

⁴⁾ See Guest, vol. II, p. 172, Schipper, p. 331.

⁵⁾ See Guest II, p. 291, Schipper, p. 316.

⁶⁾ For further particulars see ten Brink, Geschichte der engl. Litteratur, p. 405, 421 and 437.

in { stanza VIII As ane horrible *oule*
 Ougsum owir all,
 and { stanza IX I am nytherit ane *oule* thus be nature,
 or in { stanza LVI *Haill, blissit* mot thow be
 For thy barne teme,
 and { stanza LVII *Haill, blissit* throch þe bodwird of blith angellis.

Iteration may also be represented by another class of words, whenever they have at least the same root,

compare { stanza IX Or ellis dreidles I *dee*
 Or my end day.
 and { stanza X Off thy *deid*, quoth þe paip etc.

or *prayer* and *pruyit* in stanza LI—LII.

{ stanza XIII Thaj *dure* to þair deid.
 { stanza XIV Jit induring þe day to þat dere drew,
 { stanza XXIII Ressauiit with honour,
 { stanza XXIV Quhen þaj consauit had þe cas etc.

stanza 5/6 iteration is given by unaccented syllables: *Sum* ding me to my deid.
Sum bird will bay at my beke etc.

In poems where iteration is dominant, this peculiarity may even be useful to criticise the text. There is, for instance, some reason to believe that the first line of the 2nd stanza is corrupt. I am inclined to suppose that the reading must be: This *ryal* rywer down ran etc.;

thus the striving for iteration would be better expressed, and there may be spoken of a *ryal* rywer as well as of a *riche* rywer, particularly since line 13 of the preceding stanza reads: þat *ryallye* reird.

From the same reason we may suppose that there is a corruption at the end of stanza XXVIII; the reading of the Bannatyne Ms. is at all events to be preferred, because it complies with iteration: *blenkit* — *linkit*. (According to the observations of ten Brink, Schipper and others, iteration may also be satisfied by assonant words.) The passage in question will therefore better read:

stanza XXVIII The said pursevand bure
 That *blenkit* so bold. (instead of *bloutit* in Asloan Ms).
 stanza XXIX Thairwith *linkit* in a lyng, be leirit men approvit.
 or { stanza XXV Bothe in *hall* and in bour
 „ XXVI Goiþ *halkis* wer guvernouris etc.

This principle in iteration is, however, only effectuated with evident strength till stanza XXXI, while it is rather rarely to be observed in the rest of the poem.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that this iteration is discontinued, when the poet enters into his panegyric on the Douglasses with the words:

Off þe duchtie Dowglaß to dyte I me dreß, stanza XXXI.

In the following 47 stanzas the use of iteration is reduced to 5 cases, (stanza 37—38, 51—52, 56—57, 59—60 and 73—74), while in the beginning 31 stanzas iteration is not wanting a single time. In stanza 28, where it seems to be the case, we find the iteration in the bob of

{ stanza XXVII The paipis armes at poynt to blasone and *beir*.
 { stanza XXVIII Syne in a feild of siluer, secound he *beiris*.

Such iterations have been overlooked hitherto. The rare occurrence of iteration down to the end of our poem may be simply explained by the presumption that a consequent use of it through the whole of the poem was too difficult, and perhaps too dragging for its contents.

Having observed, how the stanzas are bound together by final rhymes and how they are, for the most part, even connected with each other by iterative words or phrases, we will now pass over to the rhythmical structure of the verses.

Every stanza begins with 9 long-lines, each of which generally has 4 stresses or rhythmical accents and a middle pause.

line 1 In the mǫddis of máij, | at mórne, as I mént,
 „ 4 That all brýchtnit abóut | the bórdouris on bréid
 „ 15 Throw a ffórrest on faúld | þat fërlye was ffáir.

Sometimes, however, the poet seems not to have been very careful of poetical rules, since there are a few verses, which in spite of rhythmical licences, allowed to them, can hardly be forced into the system of 4 accents; such verses are:

line 321 The fálcón fáirest on flýcht | fërmyt on fóld
 „ 672 Braid búrdis and bénkis, ourbéld | with báncouris of góld
 „ 970 Now mék þour mǫrrour be mé | all máner of mán
 „ 992 Of Tér[n]way téndir and trýd | quho so trést trówis etc.

All these quoted verses seem to have 5 accents; and I can hardly think, that the initial words 'now mek þour' etc. should be without any accent, particularly since they bear alliterative rhymes. In these verses, which are indeed of rare occurrence, the caesura is transferred behind the third accent. The bob (9. line of a stanza), though it belongs to the wheel by its final rhyme, joins the same rules of accents as have been exhibited till now. The rest of the wheel shows the same structure as the two sections of a long-line, so that line 10, 11 and 12 have 2 or 3 accents each, while line 13, corresponding to the second section, always has 2 accents.

st I. 10: Thus thró⁽ⁿ⁾ þe cliftis so cléir
 „ 11: Alóne but fállow or féir
 st. II. 11: Mekle máir off the mǫrth
 st. VI. 12: To refórme my fóule fáce, 2 accents in LXXI 10, LXXVII 11, II 12, LI 12. etc.
 st. V. 13: Sum dǫng me to déid
 st. VI. 13: And thán wer I fáne
 st. X. 13: And énterit but hóne.

There are, indeed, stanzas, where the 13th line might as well be pronounced with only one accent, as in

stanza III 13 To þe þúrpoß
 „ XLI 13 In to Scótlánd etc,

nevertheless I cannot but agree with the opinion of Trautmann and Luick, displayed in Anglia II, p. 408 and Anglia XII, 446, since in those cases the rhyme demands an accent on an unaccented syllable; in the two cases just mentioned, f. instance, þúrpoß rhymes with gloß, and Scotland with hand, so that we consequently have to pronounce:

'To the þúrpoß' and 'In to Scótlánd'.

Alliteration.

Most of the accented words bear besides an alliterative rhyme of which we are now about to exhibit the occurrences. Our poem is one of those, where the appearance of alliteration seems to be a previous condition of rhyming, and where this sort of rhyme is also employed with an admirable result.

Regular verses with 4 accents and 4 alliterative rhymes are for instance:

line 1 In the mǫddis of máij at mórne as I mént
 „ 4 That all brýchtnit abóut the bórdouris on bréid
 „ 21 Þránsand and þrúngeand be páir and be páre,

or with alliteration of vowels:

line 291 To éttill to þe émpereure of áncestry áld

„ 314 Athill émpereure our áll, most áwfull in érd.

Alliteration of vowels and h is to be found in:

line 177 As ábbatis of all órdouris þat hónorable ár

„ 229 Be órdour ane hósptular was órdanit full háble etc.

Among the verses of 3 accents there are also many with 3 alliterative rhymes:

line 77 To refórme my fóule fáce

„ 128 Férme fáithfull and fést.

In an analogical manner the lines of 2 accents are often supplied with 2 alliterative rhymes, viz

line 65	Sum dǫng me to déid	} alliteration of consonants;
„ 143	To téll his entént	
„ 156	In mǫddis off máy	
„ 104	Oúgsum owir áll	} alliteration of vowels;
„ 273	Thus árgewe thaj áll	
„ 103	As ane hórrible óule	} alliteration of vowels and h.
„ 130	And énterit but hóne	
„ 949	The hóulat and Í	

Alliteration may serve to criticise the text in l. 54, where the reading of Asloan Ms **cheuerand** (rhyming with **chydand**, **churlich** and **cheir**) is to be preferred to 'hedand' in Bannatyne Ms.

Even unaccented syllables frequently rhyme with some accented syllable in the same section¹⁾ and generally with the alliterative consonant of the whole line. The accidental alliterations called in German „Nebenstäbe“ are for instance to be met with in the following verses:

- l. 191 Cryand cráwis and káiþ that créwis þe córne
- l. 171 Swannis suónchand full swýith swéitest of suáre
- l. 44 With moir múnnyng in mýnd than I méne máy
- l. 614 The plesand pówin in a pórt prówde to repair
- l. 24 Mekle mair of the mirth, etc.

where cryand, swannis, mair etc. bear such accidental alliteration.

By crowding the alliteration in this wise, the poet's exertion produces in some cases a most striking effect; and whenever the rhythmical structure of our poem acquires a rapid motion by the increase of unaccented syllables, then this very alliteration frequently adds to a favourable precision of rhythm.

Explanatory notes²⁾ on the talk of the Irish bard, in stanza LXII.

As it has been pointed out on page 11, note⁴⁾, the dialect imitated by the 'bard out of Ireland' is not Irish, but Scottish Gaelic in a phonetic and corrupt writing. It is necessary to remember that Holland, almost to a certainty, did not know Gaelic. Besides in this particular case he very probably wished to caricature the language and its representative. It is worth noticing in Blind Harry's Wallace (Book VI. 140) that the English soldier addresses Wallace in

¹⁾ These sections are parts of a line separated by the caesura.

²⁾ For these valuable notes I am exclusively indebted to Prof. Windisch in Leipzig and to Prof. Mackinnon in Edinburgh. Through their kindness and affability, which I beg most gratefully to acknowledge, I am enabled as far as possible to clear up the meaning of the words and phrases of the Irish bard.

Gaelic, and evidently by way of insult. The Gaelic language abounds in gutturals, and the profusion of guttural sounds in the talk of the Irish bard suggests that our author did not know Gaelic, and that some of the sounds are meaningless, used for caricaturing.

Line 795: *banachadee* was the common form of salutation, not yet extinct, on entering a house; in Scottish Gaelic it would be '*beannachaidh Dhé*' (the blessing of God), which in the last instance is to be derived from the Latin '*benedictio*'.

Line 796: In *gluntow* may be suggested the Irish word '*cluinnim*' (I hear); *dyny* may be the Irish '*duine*' (man); *drach* may be the adjective '*dhroch*' (evil). It is true that this adjective invariably precedes its noun; but it is quite as true that this very blunder is frequently made by learners of the Gaelic language. The word *mischy* (*misch* in line 798) is probably Gaelic '*mise*'=I; the last word of line 796: *doch* may be read '*deoch*' (drink), which is the more probable, as drinking was in question at the banquet, comp. line 799: '*gif hir drink*'.

Therefore line 796 may possibly be read: '*An cluinn thu guth, a dhuine dhroch, olaidh mise deoch*' (Can't you hear a word, evil man, I can take a drink).

Line 798: *Misch makmory*= '*Mise Mac Muire*' (I am son of Mary); as proper name: *Macmuire*. It seems almost impossible to make any sense of the remainder of this line; *ach* and *moutir* are plain enough as detached words 'but' and 'folk'. The other words *mach* and *mochloch* may have a meaning, but Prof. Mackinnon rather thinks they are 'jingles' or meaningless sounds, inserted here to express guttural and alliterative sounds; if they should have a meaning, these two words are at all events quite corrupt in the Ms.

As to the proper names in line 800 and 802, — *Dermyn* may stand for the common '*Diarmad*' (Irish *Diarmait*), *Donnall* is the anglicized Gaelic for '*Domnall*'. The *droch* attached to *Dochardy* (*Docherty*) is either the adjective wrongly postfixed as in *dynydrach* (line 796), or *droch* by metathesis for '*dorch*' (Irish *dorcha*=dark, black), the more likely conjecture, when the substantive is a personal name.

Line 802: *Knewlyn* may stand for '*Conallan*' (V. Hart's *Pedigrees*, p. 407), *Conoquhor* is S. Gaelic '*Conachar*', (probably Old Irish *Conchobar*); *Gregre Macgrane* is '*Gregor Mac Cràine*' in S. Gaelic, (*mac*=son).

Line 803: *chenachy*= '*seanachaidh*' (Irish *senchaid*) means a historian, a narrator or relater; *clarschach* is decisive for the bard's dialect, as this word only occurs in Scottish Gaelic; it means 'harp' and stands for '*clarsair*' (harper).

Line 804: The *beneschene* may be '*ben shean*' (old woman), which is now usually transposed: '*seana-bhean*'; the *ballach*, now '*balach*' in Gaelic, is 'a churl', 'a lout', 'a growing lad'.

Line 805: The *crekrye* is perhaps the Irish '*crechaire*' (a plunderer, a robber, see *Windisch, Irische Texte* p. 451), and the *corach* may be a substantive formed from '*cor*' (right) or '*corad*' (a champion), the guttural no doubt helping to shape the form of the noun, here we should say a '*nomen agentis*'.



The Houlate, maid be Holland.

I.

fol. 302^a In the middis of maij, at morne, as I ment,
 Throw mirth markit on mold, till a grene meid,
 The blemis blywest of blee fro the sone blent,
 That all brychtnit about the bordouris on breid:
 With alkin herbis off air, þat war in erd lent, 5
 The feildis flowrischit, and fret full of fairheid;
 So soft was the seasoun *our* souerane down sent,
 Throw þe greabill gift off his godheid,
 That all was amiable ower þe air and þe erd: 10
 Thus, throw the cliftis so cleir,
 Alone, but fallow or feir,
 I raikit till a riweir, þat ryallye reird.

II.

This riche rywer doun ran, but resting or rove, 15
 Throw a fforrest on fauld þat ferlye was ffair;
 All the brayis off that bryme buir brenchis above,
 And birdis blythest off ble, on blossomes bair;
 The land loun was and lie, *with* lyking and love,
 And for to lende by that lak, *thocht* me levare,
 Becauß that þir hertis in herdis coud hove, 20
 Pransand and prunzeand, be pair and be pare:
 Thus sat I in solace, sekirlye and suire,
 Content of þe fair firth,
 Mekle mair of the mirth,
 Als was blyth off the birth þat þe ground huire. 25

Variants.

In the following notes B means Bannatyne Ms; A = Asloan Ms., as it has been printed by Laing; H = print for the Hunterian Club. I abstain from giving any collation with Pinkerton's print, which is quite insufficient, incomplete and sometimes unintelligible. My print follows B verbatim. Italics indicate the well known Ms. abbreviations; all essential variants are given, those of little importance, and they are legion, are left out, as they would have unnecessarily swelled the bulk of these notes.

In A the poem is headed: Heir begynnis The Buke of the Howlat.

Line 3 B blemis blywe est; A bemes blythest. 6 A feldis flurist; B fair heid. 8 A greable. 10 A thir cliftis. 11 A Withoutin fallowe of feir. 12 A ane reveir. 13 A *apperd* instead of *reird*. 14 A or ruf. 15 A on fold that farly. 16 A of the brym bair branchis abuf. 15 A lowne was and le — and luf. 19 A *laike* instead of *lak*; B writes *lende*. 20 A hartes in heirdis couth huf. 25 A Als blyth of the birth.

III.

The birth þat þe ground bure was broudyn on bredis,
 With gerþ gay as the gold, and granis off grace,
 Mendis and medicine ffor all mennis neidis;
 Help till hert and till hurt, helefyll it was. 30
 Vnder þe circle solar thir sanourouþ sedis
 Were nurist be dame nature, that nobill maistres;
 Bot all *thair* namys to nyvin as now, it nocht nedis;
fol. 302^b It wer prolixit and lang, and lentling of space,
 And I haif mekle mater in metir to gloþ, 35
 Of ane vþir sentence,
 And waik is my eloquence;
 Thairfoir in haist will I hence To þe purpoþ.

IV.

Off that purpoþ in þat place, be pryme off þe day, 40
 I hard a peteous appeill, *with* a pure mane,
 Sowlpit in sorrow, þat sadly could say,
 Wo is me, wreche in þis warld, wilsum of wane,
With moir murnyng in mynd than I mene may,
 Rowpit rewthfully roth in a roulk rud rane; 45
 Off þat ferly on fold, I fell in affray,
 Nyrrar þat noyus in nest I nycht in ane,
 I saw a howlat, in haist, vndir ane holyng,
 Lukand þe lak throw,
 And saw his awin schadow, 50
 At þe quhilk he culd grow, And maid a gowlyng.

V.

He gret gryslie grym, and gaif a grit zoule,
 Hedand and chydand *with* churlich cheir:
 Quhy is my face, quod the fyle, fassonit so foule, 55
 My forme and my fetherem vnfrelie but feir?
 My neb is nytherit as a nok, I am but ane oule;
 Aganis natur in þe nycht I waik into weir;
 I dar do *nocht* on þe day, bot droup as a doule,
Nocht for schame of my schaip in pert till appeir: 60
 Thus all thir foulis, for my filth, hes me at feid,

27 A browdin on breidis. 28 A girs gaye. 29 A for mennis all neidis: after neidis a later hand has added leydis in B. 30 A helpe to hert and to hurt heilfull. 31 A undir the Cirkill — sauorus seidis. 32 A noble mastres. 33 A thar names to nevin as now it nocht *neid* is. 36 A *nothir* instead of vþir. 38 A hens instead of hence. 40 A purpos in *the* place. 41 A I herd ane petuous appele. 42 A Solpit. 43 A Wa is me, wreche — wilsome. 45 A Rolpit reuthfully roth in a rude rane; H reads roch instead of roth; *roulk* is corrected very indistinctly over the line by later hand in B; it might also be read: *routh*; H reads roulk. Jamieson quotes this line under rane, vol. III. p. 620; but there the whole line is corrupt. 47 A that noys — I nechit in ane. 48 A holyne, 49 A the laike throwe. 50 A awne. 51 A and maid gowlyne. 53 A he grat grysly. 54 A *cheuerand* instead of *hedand*. 55 A *fax* inst. of face. 57 A netherit. 58 A I walk in to. 60 A my schape.

That be I sene in þair sicht,
 To luke out on day lycht,
 Sum will me dolefully dycht, Sum ding me to my deid. 65

VI.

Sum bird will bay at my beke, and sum will me byte,
 Sum skirp me *with* scorne, sum skyrme at myn e;
 I se be my schaddow, my schap hes þe wyte:
 Quhame sall I bleme in þis breth, a besym þat I be?
 Is none bot dame natur I bid *nocht* to nyte 70
 To accuþ in þis cauþ, in cais þat I de;
 Bot quha sall mak me amendis of hir wirth a myte,
 That thus hes maid on the mold a monster of me?
 I will appeill to þe paip, and paþ to him plane;
 For happin þat his halynace, 75
 Throw prayer may purchace
 To reforme my foule face, And than wer I fane.

VII.

Fane wald I wit, *quoth* þe fyle, or I furth fure,
 Quha is fader of all foule, pastour and paip, 80
 That is þe plesand pacok, precious and pure,
 Constant and kirklyk vndir his cleir kaip,
 Myterit as þe maner is, *mansueit* and demure,
 Schrowd in his schene weid, and schand in his schaip,
 Sad in his sanctitud, sickerly and sure; 85
fol. 303a I will go to þat guid, his grace for to graip.
 Off þat bourd I was blyith, and baid to behald.
 The howlate, violent of vyce,
 Raikit vnder þe ryce,
 To þe pacok of pryce, þat was Pape cald. 90

VIII.

Beffoir þe paip, quhen þat pur present him had,
 With sic courtassye as he coud, on knees he fell;
 Said ave rabye, be þe rude, I am rycht rade,
 To behald *your* hellynes, or my taill tell; 95
 I may nocht suffise to se *your* sanctitude sad.
 The paip wyislie, I wiþ, of wirschip þe well,
 Gawe him his braid bennessoun and baldlie him bade,
 That he suld speanlie speik and spair *nocht* to spell.

62 A be I seyne in thar. 64 A dulfally dicht. 65 A dyng me to deid. 67 A Sum skripe — sum skrym.
 69 A a bysyn that I be. 71 A Till *agus* of this caise; Laing: till accuse. 72 A mak me ane mendis. 73 A ane
 monstour. 78 A war I fane. 82 A vnder his cler cape. 83 A manswet and mure. 84 A *and* is omitted.
 85 A sekerly. 87 A blythe and bade. 88 A The Howlet wylest in wyce. 89 A the rys. 92 A quhen the pur.
 94 A ane Raby. 95 A For to behald your halynes. 96 A suffys. 97 A worschipe. 98 A Gaif him. 99 A suld *spedely*
 speike; H erroneously reads *specialie*; see Jamieson: speanlie = openly, boldly.

I com to speir, *quoth* þe spreit, into speciall, 100
 Quhy I am formid sa foull,
 Ay to *ȝout* und to *ȝoull*,
 As ane horrible oule, Ougsum owir all.

IX.

I am nytherit ane oule thus be nature, 105
 Lykar a full than a foull, in figure and face;
 Byssym of all birdis, that evir bodye bure,
 Without caus or cryme kend *in* þis cace:
 I hawe appeillit to *ȝour* presence, precious and puir,
 To ask help into haist at *ȝour* holynace, 110
 That *ȝe* wald crye vpoun christ, þat all hes *in* cuir,
 To schape me ane schand bird in a schort space;
 And to accuse nature, þis is no nay;
 Thus throw *ȝour* halynes may *ȝe*
 Mak a fair foull of me, 115
 Or ellis dreidles I dee, Or my end day.

X.

Off thy deid, *quoth* þe paip, pitie I hawe,
 Bot of nature to pleyne it is parrell;
 I can nocht say suddanlie, so me christ sawe, 120
 Bot I sall call my cardinallis and my counsell,
 Patriarkis and prophetis, ourelerit all þe lawe;
 Thaj salbe semblit full sone, that thow se sall.
 He callit on his cubiculare *within* his conclawe,
 That was þe propir *papingo*, proud in his apparrell; 125
 Bad send for his secretare, and his sele sone,
 That was þe turture trewest,
 Ferme, faithfull, and fest,
 That bure þat office honest, And enterit but hone. 130

XI.

The paip *commandit* but hone to wryt in all landis,
 Be þe said secretare, þat þe sele *ȝemyt*,
 For all staitis of kirk þat vnder christ standis,
 To semble till his *summond*is, as it weill semyt. 135
 The trew turture has tane *with* þe tithandis,
 Done dewly his dett, as þe dere demyt;
 Syne belyve send þe *lettres* into sere landis,

101 A formed to fowle. 102 A ȝowt, ȝowle. 104 A Wgsum our all. 105 A netherit ane Owl. 107 A Bysyn.
 108 A Withoutin — this case. 109 A appelit. 110 A Askis helpe in till haist at ȝour halynes. 111 A cry apon Crist —
 has in cur. 113 H erroneously reads: this is no *uay*. 116 B originally had written I *will* dee; will has been *erased*
 again; A Or elles dredles I de. 117 A Or *myne* end day. 118 A pite I haife. 119 A Bot apon Nature — it is
 perrell. 120 A sudanelye — Crist saif. 122 A prophetis of lerit the laif. 124 A conclaif. 125 A the proper *Pape Jaye*;
 the margin of B has *pape Jo*. 128 A and fast. 134 A semble *till* his — wele semyt. 137 A letteris in to seir landis.

finjor,
with,

willow,

With þe suallow so swift, in speazle expremit,
The papis herald at poynt into present.
For he is furthward to flee, 140
And ay will haif entree,
In hous, and in hall hee, To tell his entent.

XII.

fol. 303^b Quhat sall I tell ony mair of thir materis;
Bot þir lordis belyve thir lettres hes tane, 145
Resauit þame with reuerence, to reid as efferis,
And richelye þe heraldis rewardit ilk ane.
Than busk þaj but blin, monye bewscheris
Graitheß þame, but growching, þat gait for to gane;
All the staitis of kirk out of steid steris; 150
And I sall note þow richt now þair namis in ane,
How þaj apperit to þe paip, and present þame ay,
Fair, farrand, and free,
In ane guidlye degree,
And manlyke, as thocht me, In middis off may. 155

XIII.

inning of the =
Parliament:
reasons,

~~rehearsal~~
ours

All thus in may, as I ment, in a morning,
Come foure phesandis, full fair in þe first front,
Presentit þame as patriarkis in þair appering,
Benygne of obedience, and blyith in þe bront. 160
A college of cardinallis come syne in a ling,
That war crannis of kynd, gif I rycht compt,
With ride hattis on heid, in hale taikinning
Off þat deir dignitie, with wirschip ay wont.
Thir ar foulis of effect, but fellonye or feid, 165
Spirituell in all thing,
Leill in þair leving,
Thairfore in dignetie ding, Thaj dure to þair deid.

XIV.

war

Jit induring þe day to þat dere drew 170
Swannis suonchand full swyith, sweetest of suare,
In quhyte rokcattis arrayit; as I rycht knew
That þaj wer bischoppis blist, I was þe blyvare;
Stable and steidfast, tendir and trew,
Off few wirdis full wyiß, and worthye þaj ware: 175

138 A in *speciale* expremit; H also erroneously *speciale*. 139 A harrald. 140 A forthwart to fle. 141 A haue entre. 144 A Quhat suld I. 145 A belyf the letteris has tane. 146 A Resauit thaim. 148 A bewschyris (beau Sire). 149 A Grathis tham, but gruching. 150 A of the kirk. 151 A not þow. 154 A In a gudly degre. 158 A four fassandis. 159 A Present tham. 160 A Benyng. 163 A red hattis on hed, in haile takynning. 166 A Spirituale. 167 A Leile. 168 A Tharfor in dignite digne. 170 Yit endurand — deir drewe; B originally had *tarding* instead of *day*. 171 A suowchand full swyith, swetest of swar. 172 A rocatis arrayd. 173 A the blythar. 175 A Of fewe wordis full wys; B has corrected wordis in wirdis.

? ?

Sea Maw
Gull?
?

Thair was pyattis and pertrekis, and plevaris anew,
 As abbatis of all ordouris þat honorable ar;
 The see mawis war monkis, þe blak and þe quhyte,
 The goull was a garintar,
 The swerthbak a cellerar, 190
 The scarth a fisch fangar, And þat a perfyte.

XV.

frou

Perfytelic þir pik mawis as for priouris,
 With þair partie habitis present þame þair;
 Herronis contemplatywe, clein chertouris, 195
 With toppit hudis on heid, and cleithis of hair,
 Ay sorrowfull and said at all houris,
 Was nevir leid saw þame lauch, bot drowpand and dare.
 All kin cheannonis eik of vþir ordouris,
 All maner of religioun, þe leß and þe mair; 190
 Cryand crawis and kaiß, that crewis þe corne,
 War puir freiris forward,
 That with þe leve of þe lard
 Will cum to þe corne yard, At evin and at morne. 195

XVI.

ʒit or evin enterit þat bure offyce,
 Obeyand þir bischoppis, and bydand þame by,
 Grit ganaris on ground, in gudle awyce,
 That war demit, but dout, denys duchty;
 Thaj mak residence roth, and airlie will ryiß 200
 To keip þe college clein, and þe clargye.
fol. 304^v The coke in his cleir kaip, þat crawis and cryis,
 Was chosin chantour full cheiff in þe chennonrye.
u. l. 11 Thair come þe curllew a clark, and þat a cunand,
 Chargit as chancellare, 205
 For he coud wryte windir fare,
 With his neh fior mestare, Vpoun þe see sand. *mystar*

XVII.

Vpoun þe sand ʒit I saw, as thesaurare tane;
 With grene awmouß on hede, schir gawane þe drake; 210
 The arsdene, þat ourman, ay prechand in plane,

176 A Thar was Pyotis and Partrikis and Pluwaris ynewe 179 A Goule was a gryntar. 190 A sellerar.
 183 A Parfytlye. 195 A Heronnis contemplatif, cleine charterouris. 186 B originally had *cleir* of hair; cleir is
 corrected in *cleithis*; A reads: *clething* of hair; H clethit. 187 A and sad at evin sang and houris. 189 A Alkyn.
 191 A Crawis and Cais that cravis; the margin of B has *kaiß*. 192 A pure freris forthward. 193 A the leif.
 195 A At ewyn. 196 A ʒit or ewyn enterit *come* that bur office. 198 A Gret Ganeris — gudly awys. 199 B
 originally had *denis*; A denys deuchty. 200 A raith and airly will ryse. 201 A and H clargye. 202 A cleir cape.
 203 A channonry. 204 A the Curlewe a clerk, and that full cunnand. 206 A wounder fair. 207 A for mistar; the margin
 of B has *mystar*. 208 A Apon the se sand. 209 A as thesaurer. 210 A grene almous on hed. 211 A The archedene.

Correctour of kirkmen was clepit þe clake.
 The mortoun, þe murecok, þe myrsnyp in ane,
 Lychtit as lerit men of law by þat lake;
 The ravin, rowpand rudely in a roch rane, 215
 Was dene rurall to rede rank as a rake;
 Quhill þe lardun was laid, held he na houß;
 Bot in vplandis townis,
 At vicaris and personis,
 For þe procurationis, Cryand full crouß. 220

XVIII.

The crouß capoun, a clerk vnder clere wedis,
 Full of cherite, chaste, and vnchangeable,
 Was officiale, but les þat þe law ledis,
 In causis consistoriale, þat ar coursable. 225
 The sparrow venus he vesityt for his vile dedis, } of clowcer
 Lyand in lechorye, laith, vnlouable;
 The feldefar in þe forrest þat febily him fedis,
 Be ordour ane hospitar was ordanit full hable;
 The kowschotis war parsonis in thair apparrale; 230
 The dow, Noyes messingere,
 Rownand ay with his fere,
 Was a curate, to here Confessionis hale.

XIX.

Confess cleir can I nocht, nor kyth all þe cas, 235
 The kynd of þair cummyng, þir compaignyes eke,
 The manere nor þe multitude, sa monye þir was:
 All se foull and sede foull was nocht for to seke.
 Thir ar na foulis of ref, nor of rethnas,
 Bot mansuete, but malice, manerit, and meke, 240
 And all apperit to þe paip, in þat ilk place,
 Salust his sanctitude with spirituall speke.
 The pape gaif his benesoun, and blissit þame all;
 Quhen þaj war rangit on rawis,
 Of thair cuming þe haill cawiß 245
 Was said into schort sawis, As ȝe here sall.

XX.

The pape said to þe oule, propone thine appele,
 Thy lamentabill langage, as like þe best.

212 A Correker — the Claik. 213 Martoune, Murcok, Myresnype. 214 A as lerit men, law by that laike.
 215 A The Ravyne rolpand. 217 A the lardnir. 221 A crows. 222 A crows Capone. 226 A Wenus he wesit. 227 A
 lichory. 228 A Feldifer. 229 A full able. 230 I read parsonis, A and H personis, cp. partie, line 184 = party-coloured.
 233 A corate to heir. 236 A thar companyis eike. 237 A so mony thar was; B samonye (in one word); H thair
 was, cp. thir in line 239. 238 A Se fowle and Seid fowle — seik. 239 L fowlis of reif nor of richness(!). 240 A
 mansweit. 243 A thaim all. 245 A Of thar come the haile caus. 247 heir sall. 249 A lamentable — as lykis.

I am deformit, *quop* the foull, *with* faltis full fele, 250
 Be nature nytherit ane oule noyus in nest,
 Wrech of all wrechis, fra wirschip and wele;
 All þis tretye hes he tald be *termes* in test:
 It nedis nocht to renew all myn vnhele,
 Sen it was menit to *ȝour* mynd and maid manifest. 255
 Bot to þe poynt pietouß he prait þe pape
 To call þe clergie with cure,
 And se, gif þat nature
 Mycht reforme his figure In a fair schaip. 260

XXI.

Than fairly the fader thir foulis he frainyt
 Off þair counsele in þis caiß, sen þaj þe *rycht* knewe,
fol. 304^b Giff þaj þe houlat mycht help, þat was so hard panyt?
 And þaj verelye avisit, full of vertewe,
 The mater, þe *maner*, and how it remanyt; 265
 The circumstance, and þe stait, all coude þaj argewe.
 Monye alleageance lele, in lede *nocht* to lane it,
 Off Aristotle, and ald men, scharplye thaj schewe;
 The prelatis þair apperance proponyt generall.
 Sum said to, sum fra, 270
 Sum nay, and sum ȝa,
 Bayth pro and contra, Thus argewe thaj all.

XXII.

Thus argewe thaj ernistlye wondir oftsiß,
 And syne to þe samyn forsuth thaj assent hale; 275
 That sen it nychlit nature, thair alleris maistriß,
 Thaj coud *nocht* trete but entent of þe temperale.
 Thairfore þaj counsele þe pape to wryte on þis wiß
 To þe athill Emperour, souerane in sale,
 Till addreß to þat diete, to deme his aviß 280
 With dukis and *with* digne lordis, derrest in dale,
 Erlis of ancestry, and vthir ynewe:
 So þat [þe] spirituale state,
 And þe seculare consate
 Mycht all gang in a gate, Tendir and trewe! 285

250 A deformed quoth the fyle — full feile. 256 A petuos he prayit. 259 A figour. 261 A franyt. 262 A Of thar counsall in this cais sen the richt thai knewe. 263 A hard paynit. 264 A weraly awysit. 265 A The maner. the mater. 267 A Mony allegiance leile in leid — layne it. 268 A Arestotill. 269 A thar apperans. 270 *and* is omitted in B. 274 A wounder oftsys: H erroneously reads *woner*, cp. wondir, adv. in line 386. 275 *to þe* is added in B by later hand; these words are also omitted in A, where the line runs: Syne samyn forsuth . . . 276 A it *necht* Natur — mastris; nychlit is not distinct in B. 278 A writ in this wys. 280 A To adres to that dyet — awys. 281 A darrest. 282 A Erlis — vtharis ynewe. 283 *the* omitted in B. 284 A secular consait. 285 A gait.

XXIII.

The trew turture and traist, as I heir tald.
 Wrote þir *lettres* at lenth, lelest in lede;
 Syne throw þe papis precept planelye þame ȝald
 To þe suallow so swift, harrald in hede, 290
 To ettill to þe Emperoure, of ancestry ald.
 He wald *nocht* spare for to spring on a guid speide;
 Fand him in babilonis tour, *with* bernis so bald,
 Cruell kingis *with* croun, and duckis but drede.
 He gaue þir lordis belyve þe *lettres* to luke; 295
 Quhilk þe riche Emperoure,
 And all othir in þe houre,
 Ressaut *with* honour, Bayth princis and duke.

XXIV.

Quhen þaj consaut had þe cas and the credence, 300
 Be the herald in hall, hufe þaj *nocht* ellis,
 Bot bownis out of babilon *with* all obedience,
 Sekis our þe salt see, fro þe south fellis,
 Enteris in Europ, free but offence,
 Waillis wislye þe wayis, be woddis and wellis, 305
 Till thaj approach to þe pape in his presence,
 At þe foirsaid triste, *quhair* þe trete tellis.
 Thaj fand him in a forrest, frelye and fare;
 Thay halsit his halynas;
 And ȝe sall here in schort space, 310
 Quhat worthy lordis þair was, Giff ȝour willis ware.

XXV.

Thair was the Egill so grym, grettest on ground is,
 Athill Emperoure our all, most awfull in erd;
 Ern is ancient of air kingis þat cround is, 315
 Nixt his celsitude for suth secound apperd;
 Quhilk in þe firmament throw forþ of þair *flycht* foundis,
 Percyng þe sonne *with* þair sycht, selcouth to herde.
 Gyre falcons, þat gentille in bewtye habondis,
 War dere duckis, and digne, to deme as offerd. 320
 The falcon, fairest on *flycht* fermyt on fold,
 Was ane erle of honour,
 Marschall to þe Emperour,
 Bothe in hall and in bour, Hende to behold. 325

286 A tender. 287 A as I eir tauld. 288 A Wrait thir letteris — in leid. 289 A planly thaim. 290 A Swallowe. 292 A gud speid. 294 with crovne and dukis but dreid. 295 A He gaf. 297 A all vthar. 300 the cais. 301 A hove thai. 302 A Babulone. 304 A Ewrope. 305 A Walis wyslie. 306 A Quhill thai approach. 308 A frely and fair. 310 A sall heir. 316 A forsuth secoundlie. 317 A through fors. 318 A Perses the sone. 319 A Geir Falconnis, B originally *generalle* instead of *gentille*, A gentilly in bewte haboundis. 320 A deir dukis. 321 A formed on fold, cp. line 355. 323 A Marschell. 324 A Boith — bowr.

XXVI.

fol. 305^a Goiß halkis wer *gouvernouris* of þe grit ost,
 Chosin chiftanis, chevelruß in chairgis of weiris,
 Marchionis in þe mapamond, and of mycht most, *marquisis.*
 Nixt dukis in dignite, quhome no dreid deiris.
 Sperk halkis, þat spedely will compas the cost, *330*
 Wer kene knychtis of kynd, clene of maneiris,
 Blycht bodeit and beild, but barrat or bost,
 With ene celestiall to se, circulit with sapheiris.
 The specht wes a pursevand, proud to appeir,
 That raid befor þe emperour, *335*
 In a cote of armour,
 Of all kynd of cullour, Cumly and cleir.

soelpe here

XXVII.

He bure cumly, to know be conscience cleir, *The armes.*
 Thre cronis, and a crucefix, all of cleire gold; *340*
 The burd with orient perle plant till appeir,
 Dicht as a dyademe digne, deir to behold,
 Sirklit on ilka syd with a sapheir,
 The jaspis jonit the jem, and rubeyis inrold.
 Syne twa keiß our corß, of siluer so cleir, *345*
 In a feild of usur flamit on fold;
 The paipis armes at poynt to blasone *and* beir. *1 paipis armes.*
 As feiris for a pursevant,
 That will viage avant;
 Actiue and auenant, *Armes to weir.* *350*

XXVIII.

Syne in a feild of siluer, secound he beiris *2 Empriouris armes.*
 Ane egill ardent of air, þat ettilis so he;
 The membiris of þe samyn foule displayit as effeiris,
 Ferme formit on fold, ay set for to fle; *355*
 All of sable þe self, quha þe suth leiris,
 The boke bypartitit bryme of þat ilk ble.
 The empriour of almane the armes he weiris,
 As signifer souerane; and syne culd I se *3 france armes.*
 Thre flour delycis of france, all of fyne gold, *360*
 In a feild of asure,

326 A Gois Halkis war — gret oist. 327 A chevalrus in charge of weris 328 A Marchonis — mychtis; the margin of B has *marquisis*, H erroneously *marquessis*, (i. e. marchionis) 330 A Spar Halkis. 332 A Blyth bodyit and beld but baret or boist. 333 A with *eyne* — circulit as saphiris. 334 A pursevant provde till apper. 335 A befor. 337 A colour. 339 A knawe be connysaunce; the margin of B has: *The armes*. 340 A cler gold, H erroneously *clene*. 341 A plantit. 343 A Circulit on ilk syde with the sapheir, H Circlit (see the alliteration with s). 344 A joynit in gem, and rubyis in rold. 345 A keyis our croce. 346 A asure flammit. The margin of B has '1 *paipis armes*'. 348 A persewant. 349 A wayage awant. 352 A secoundlie he beris. 353 A etlis so hie. 354 A foull displait. 355 B formyt on fold, but see line 321. 357 A bypertit breme, ('fiercely bipartite'?)

The thrid armes in honour,
The said pursevand bure, That blenkit so bold.

XXIX.

Thairwith linkit in a lyng, be leirit men approvit, 365
He bure a lyoun as lord, of gowlis full gay. Scotlandis armes.
Maid maikles of mycht, on mold quhair he movit,
Rycht rampand as roy, ryell of array:
Off pure gold wes þe grund, quhair þe grym hovit,
With dowble tressour about, flowrit in fay: 370
And flourdelycis on loft, þat mony leid lovit,
Off gold signet and set, to schaw in assay:
Our souerane of scotlandis armes to knaw,
Quhilk salbe lord *and* ledar
Our bred britane all quhair, 375
As sanct mergaretis air, And þe signe schaw.

XXX,

Next þe souerane signe wes sickerly sene, The discriptioun of the
That þeruit his serenite euir þeruiable, dowglaß armes.
The armes of þe Dowglaß duchtty bedene, 380
Knewin throw all christindome be cognoscence hable.
Off scotland þe weir wall, wit ȝe but wene,
fol. 305^b Our fais forþ to defend, and vnselȝeable;
Baith barmekin and bar to scottis blud bene,
Our loß, and our liking, that lyne honorable. 385
That word is so wondir warme, and euir ȝit waß;
It synkis sone in all *pairte*
Off a trew scottis hairte,
Reiosand ws invart To heir of Dowglaß. 390

XXXI.

Off þe duchtie Dowglaß to dyte I me drefß;
Thair armes of ancestre honorable ay,
Quhilk oft blithit þe Bruce in distrefß,
Thairfoir he blissit þat blud bald in assay. 395
Reid þe writ of þair werk, to ȝour witneß;
Furth on my mater to muse I move as I may.
The said pursevandis gyd wes grathit I geß,
Brusit with a grene tre, gudly and gay, The grene tre.
That bure branchis on bred blythest of hew;

364 A That bloutit so bold. 366 B originally: of *gold* full gay; *gowlis* is corrected over the line with fainter ink, cp. line 372 and 412. 368 A Riche rampand as roye *ryke* of array; line 370 and 371 are omitted in A. 372 A Of *gowlis* sygnit and set; B originally: Off *gold* signet; *gowlis* is then written over *gold* with very faint ink, but it is still to be recognised. 373 A Scotland his armes. 375 A braid Brettane. 378 A was sekirly. 379 H reads *scheruit* — *scheruiale*. 380 A douchty. 381 A conysance able. 382 A wer wall. 383 A force — *vnfalȝeable*; (*vnselȝeable* = *unassailable*). 386 A wonder — *euer*. 387 A part. 388 A Scottis hart. 391 A douchty. 393 A Bruse in *his* distres. 396 A I mufe. 398 A *ane* grene tre.

On ilk bewch to imbraß, 400
 Writtin in a bill waß:
 O Dowglas, Dowglaß, Tendir and trew!

XXXII.

Syne schyre schapin to schaw, mony schene scheild,
 With tuscheis of trest silk ticht to þe tre; 405
 Ilk brenche had þe birth, burly and beild,
 Four flureist our all, grittest of gre.
 Ane in þe crop heich, as cheif I beheld, Four branchis
 Quhilk bur in to asure, blythest of ble, of the tre.
 Siluer sternis so fair; and *pairte* of þe feild 410
 Was siluer, sett *with* a hairt, heirly and he,
 Of gowlis full gratius, þat glemit full gay;
 Syne in asure þe mold,
 A lyoun cronit *with* gold,
 Of siluer ȝe se schold, To ramp in array. 415

XXXIII.

Quhilk cassin be conysance quarterly was,
 With barris of best gold it brint as þe fyre:
 And vþir singis, forsuth sindre I geß,
 Of mettelis *and* cullouris in tentfull attyre. 420
 It wer lere for to tell, dyte, or addreß,
 All þair deir armes in dolie desyre.
 Bot *pairte* of þe principale, neuirþeleß,
 I sall haist me to hew hairtly but hyre.
 Thair loß and þair lordschip of sa lang date, 425
 That bene cot *armouris* of eld,
 Thair in to herald I held;
 Bot sen þai þe Bruce beld, I wret as I wate.

XXXIV.

In þe takin of trewth, and *constance* kend, 430
 The cullour of asure, ane hevinly hew, The azure.
 Forthy to þe Dowglaß þat senȝe wes send,
 As lelest, alȝ scotland fra skath to reskew.

400 A On ilk beugh till embrace. 402. A O Dowglas, o Dowglas; B originally had o duchtȝ Dowglaß. 405 A trast silk tichit. 407 A Four flourist — gretest of gre. 408 A croke heigh, B originally 'heich I cheifly', then altered as in A. 409 A bure in till asure. 410 A part of the feld. 411 A set with ane hert — and hie. 412 A gracious that glemyt so gay. 417 A Quhilk cassyn be cognoscence. B originally 'Quhilk was be'; was is altered in *cassin*, see the margin of B. 419 A vthir signes — syndry I ges, 420 A Of metallis and colouris: H intentfull; L in tentfull atyr; (tentfull = careful) 421 A It was tyrefull to tell; (cp. OE lere, lere = useless). 422 A in dewlye desyre. 424 B originally *have* hairtly, have altered in *hew*; (this passage is quoted with some errors in Jamieson's Dict. under 'beld'). 425 A Thar lois (i. e. praise) — lang dait. 426 H cot of *armouris*; this of is erased again in B, cp. OE cote-armure. 427 A Tharin to harrald. 428 A Brus. 429 A I wryt as I wait. 430 A In the takinnyng of treuth. 431 B originally: The cullour of azure of hevinly hew; the second of is altered in a; with faint ink 'asure ane' is written over the line, and the margin has moreover 'The azure'. A ane hevinliche hewe. 432 A For thi. 433 A fra scaith.

The siluir in þe samyn half, trewly to tend,	The siluer.	
Is cleir curage in armes, quha þe richt knew.		435
The bludy hairt þat thai beir, the Bruce at his end,	Bludy hairt.	
With his estaitis in the steid, and nobillis enew,		
Addit in þair armes for honorable cauß,		
As his tenderest <i>and</i> deir,		
In his maist misteir;		440
As salbe said to ȝow heir In to schort sawis.		

XXXV.

<i>fol. 306a</i> The roy robert þe bruce to raik he avowit,		
With all þe hairt þat he had, to þe haly graue;		
Syne quhen þe deite of his deid derfly him dowit,		445
With lordis of scotland, lerit, and þe lave,		
As worthy, wysest to wale, in wirschip allowit,		
To James lord Dowglaß thay þe gre gave		
To go with þe kingis hairt; þairwith he nocht growit,		
Bot said to his souerane: so me god sauc,		450
.ȝour grete giftis and grant ay gratius I fand;		
Bot now it movis all þir maist,		
That ȝour hairt nobillest		
To me is closit and kest, Throw ȝour command.		455

XXXVI.

I love ȝow mair for þat loß, ȝe lippin me till,		
Than ony lordschip or land, so me our lord leid!		
I sall waynd for no way to wirk as ȝe will,		
At wiß, gife my werd wald, with ȝow to þe deid.		
Thair with he lowttit full law. þame lykit full ill,		460
Bayth lordis and ladeis, þat stud in þe steid.		
Off commoun natur þe courß be kynd to fulfill.		
The gud king gaif the gest to god for to rede;		
In cardroß that crownit closit his end.		
Now god for his grit grace,		465
Sett his saule in solace!		
And we will speik of Dowglace, Quhat wey he coud wend.		

XXXVII.

The hairt coistly he coud cloß in a cleir cace,		
And held alhaill þe behest he hecht to þe king.		470

435 A corage. 436 A that thai bere, B *thei* beir. 437 A nobillis ynewe. 441 A to *thow* heir, B distinctly: ȝow. 443 A Brus the rayke he awowit. 444 A to the haly graif. 445 A dait of his deid, B *deite* and H *date* instead of *dait*. 446 A and the laif. 448 B originally lord *of* Dowglaß; of is erased again, also omitted in A; A *thow* the gre gaif; *thow* inst. of *thay*. 450 A God saif. 452 All ther. 453 A hart nobillast. 454 A closit and cast. 456 A *loiss* inst. of loß; H erroneously *lofe*; (loß = praise, confidence), B originally *los*; Jamieson's Dict. also erroneously reads *lofe*, see 'waynd', Jam. — 458 A for no weye. 460 A lowtit full lawe. 461 A ladyis. 462 B originally þe kynd; þe altered in *be*. 463 A the gaist, B the gest; H reads *geft*, A for to reid. 465 A Quhat way he couth wend. 469 A hert costlye — cler cace. 470 A held all hale.

Come to þe haly graue, throw godis grit grace,
 With offerandis, and orisonis, and all vþir thing,
 Our saluatouris sepultour, and þe samyn place,
 Quhair he raiff, as we reid; richtouß to ring,
 With all þe relikis rath, that in þat rowm wace, 475
 He gart hallow þe hairt, and syne cud hit hing
 About his hals full hend, and on his awin hart.
 Oft wald he kiss it, *and* cry:
 O flour of all cheuelry!
 Quhy leif I, allace! quhy, And thow deid art? 480

XXXVIII.

My deir, quop þe Dowglaß, art thow to deid dicht?
 My singular souerane, of saxonis þe wand,
 Now bot I semble for thy sawlis with sarazenis mycht,
 Sall I neurir sene be in to scotland. 485
 Than in defenß of þe faith he fure to þe ficht,
 With knychtis of christindome to keip his command.
 And quhen þe battellis so brym, brathly and blicht,
 Wer jonit thraly in thrang, mony thowsand,
 Amang þe hethin men the hairt hardely he flang, 490
 Sayd: wend on, as thow wont,
 Throw þe battell in bront,
 Ay formest in þe front, Thy fayis amang.

XXXIX.

And I sall fallow the in faith, or with fay be fellit; 495
 As thy lege man lele, my lyking thow arte.
 Thair with on mahonis men manly he mellit,
 Braid throw þe battellis in bront, and bur þame bakwart.
 The wayis quhair þe wicht went wer in wa wellit;
 Wes nane sa sture in þe steid, mycht stand him a start. 500
 Thus frayis he þe fals folk, trewly to tell it,
 Ay quhill he couerit and come to þe kingis hart.
fol. 306^b Thus fell feildis he wan, ay wirchipand it.
 Throwchtout christindome kid
 Wer þe deidis he did, 505
 Till on a tyme it betyd, As tellis þe writ.

471 A haly graf. 472 vrisonis and all vthar thing. 474 A richtuis to ryng 475 A relykis raith — rovme was.
 476 A couth it hyng. 477 H reads fough hend; the o is erased in Ms. B; A his awne hart. 478 B kissit. 482
 A art thow deid dicht. 484 A for thi saull. 486 A Thus in defence — fecht. 488 A batallis — brathly and bricht,
 B blicht. 489 A War joyned: B originally *and* thrang, and is altered into *in*. 490 H slang instead of flang. 491
 A thou was wont. 493 A formast 495 A followe — or feye to be fellit; B originally: or fay to be fellit, altered in:
 or with fayis to be fellit, *to* is erased. 497 A Mahownis. 498 A battallis — thaim backwart. 499 A The wyis quhar.
 500 A Was nane so stur. 502 A Aye quhil. 503 A Thus feile — aye worschipand it 504 A Throwout. B throwout =
 throwchtout. 505 A deidis that he did. 506 A betid.

XL.

He bownit to a battell and þe beld wan,
 Oursett on þe sathanas side sarazenis nicht:
 Syne followit fast on þe chace, quhen thay fle can, 510
 Full ferly fele hes he fellit, and slane in ficht.
 As he releuit was, so wes he wer than
 Off a wy him allane, wirthy and wicht,
 Sirclit *with* sarazenis, mony a sad man,
 That traouyntit *with* a trane vpoun þat trew knycht. 515
 Thow sall noch*t* de the allane, quop þe Dowglace,
 Sen I se the oursett,
 To fecht for þe faith fett,
 I sall woyd the of dett, Or de in this place. 520

XLI.

He ruschit in þe grit rowt, the kny*cht* to reskew;
 Fell of þe fa*l*ß folk, þat fled of befor,
 Releuit in on thir twa, for to tell trew,
 That þai war be the samy[n] oursett; thairfoir I murne soir.
 Thus in defence of þe faith, as fermes anew, 525
 And pete of þe pretius kny*cht* þat wes in pane thore,
 The ducht*y* Dowglaß is deid doun adew,
With loß and *with* liking, þat lestis euirmoir.
 His hardy men tuk þe hairt syne vpoun hand;
 Quhen thay had bureit þa*ir* lord, 530
With mekle mane to remord,
 Thay maid it hame be restord In to scotland.

XLII.

Be this resone we reid, *and* as our roy leuit,
 The dowglaß in armes the bludy hairt beiris; 535
 For it bled he his blud, as þe bill breuit,
 And in batellis full bred, vndir baneris,
 Throw full chevelrous chance he this hart cheuit
 Fra walit wayis, *and* wicht wirthy in weiris;
 Mony galzard grome wes on þe grund leuit, 540
 Quhen he it flang in þe feild, fellow of feiris,
 Syne reskewand [it] agane the hethin menis harmys.

508 A He bownyt till a batall. 509 A Our set all the sathanas syde. 511 A ferly feile has he *feld*, and slane in the flicht. 512 A As he releuit I wis, so was he war than. 513 A Of ane wy him allane; B has wyt, but the t is erased, so that wy is the right reading; (wy=way). H erroneously reads wycht. 514 A Circulit (see line 343) — mony sad man, a is omitted in A. 515 H reads tranoyntit, but cp. OE truanten and trouantin, O Fr. truander. A: a trayne upon that. 518 A faith fete (OE fet). 519 A devoid. 520 A in the place. 522 A Feile of the fals folk — befor. 524 *be the* is omitted in A, in B it is written in by later hand, B originally: þai war samy (!) (samyn adv. = together); A thairfor I murn sore. 525 A as fermes ynewe. 526 A And pite of the prys kny*cht* that was in thore; pane (i. e. Pagan, heathenish) is omitted in A. 527 A deid and adewe. 528 A evir mor. 530 A beryit thar lord. 534 A this ressoun. 535 A hart beris. 537 A batallis full braid. 538 A chevalrus. 539 A Fra walyit wyis — worthy in weris. 540 A galiard gome (!) was on the ground levit. 541 A feld fellow of feris. 542 A mennis harmes; it omitted in B.

This hart, red to behald,
 Throw thir ressonis ald,
 The bludy harte it is cald, In Dowglaß armes.

545

XLIII.

The sternis of ane vper strynd steris so fair,
 Ane callit Murray, þe riche lord of renownis,
 Deit, and a dochter had to his deir air
 Off all his tresour vntald, touris and townis.
 The Douglaß in thay dayis, duchtie alquhare,
 Archibald þe honorable in habitacions,
 Weddit þat wloink wicht, worthye of ware,
 With rent and with richeß; and be þaj ressons
 He bure þe sternis of estate in his stele wedis;
 Blithe, blomand, and brycht,
 Throw þe Murrayis mycht:
 And so throw goddis foirsycht, The Douglaß succedis.

The sternis.

550

555

XLIV.

The lyoun lansand on loft, lord in effere,
 For guid cauß, as I ges, is of galway.
 Quhen þaj rebellit þe croun and caus þe king dere,
 He gawe it to þe Douglaß, heretabill ay:
 On þis wiß gif he coud win it of were,
 Quhilk for his soueranis saik he sett to assay.
fol. 307^a Killit down his capitanis, and coud it conquere;
 Maid it ferme, as we find, to our scottis fay.
 Thairfoir þe lyoun he bure, with loving and loß,
 Of siluer, semely and sur,
 In a feild of asur,
 Crownit with gold pure To þe purpoß.

The lyoun

560

565

570

XLV.

The forrest of etrik, and vthir ynew,
 The landis of lauder, and lordschipis seir,
 With dynt of his derf sourd the Dowglaß so dew
 Wan wichtly of weir, wit 3e but weir,
 Fra sonis of saxonis. Now gife I sall sew
 The ordour of þair armes, it wer to tell teir.
 The barris of best gold, thocht I thame haill knew,
 It suld occupy ws all [day]; thairfoir I end heir,

575

580

546 H erroneously reads Douglassis. 547 A ane nothir strynd. 549 A douchter had *till* his. 551 A douchty
 all quhar. 553 A wlonk. 555 A estait — weidis. 558 A And sa — forsicht. 560 A lyon — in effeir. 561 A is of
 Gallaway. 562 A croune and couth the king deir. 563 A He gaif it — heretable ay. 564 A couth wyn it *on* weir.
 565 A souerane saike he set till assay. 566 A Kelit doвне thar capitanis — conquir. 567 A till our. inst. of: *to* our.
 568 A Tharfor — lois. 570 A feild. 573 A The forest of Ettrik and vthair ynewe. 574 A of Lawdir — sere. 575
 A derf swerd. 576 L wit *the* (!) but weir. 577 A sonnis of *the* Saxonis — gif I sall schewe. 578 A order. 579 A
 gold that thai hale knewe. 580 A It suld ws occupy all day; *day* is omitted in B.

Refferring me to herraldis, to tell ȝow þe haill.
 Of vȝir scheildis so schene
 Sum *pairte* will I mene,
 That wer on the tre grene, Worthy to waill.

585

XLVI.

Secund syne, in a feild of siluer, certane,
 Off a kynd cullour thre koddis I kend,
 With dowble tressur about, burely and bane,
 And flour delycis so fair trewly to tend:
 The tane and þe tȝir of goulis full gane;
 He bur quarterly, þat nane mycht amend,
 The armes of þe Dowglaß, þairof wes I fane,
 Quhilk oft wes fayn with forß, his fa till offend.
 Of honorable ancestry thir armes of eld
 Bur þe erle of murray,
 As sad signe of assay,
 His fell fais till affray, In a fair feld.

Thre coddis.

590

595

XLVII.

Ane vȝir erle of ormond, also he bure
 The said dowglaß armes, with a difference.
 And rycht so did þe ferd, quhair he furth fure;
 ȝaip, thocht he ȝung was, to faynd his offenß.
 It semit þat thay sib wer, forsuth I assure.
 Thir four scheildis of price in to presence
 Wer changit so chivelrouß, þat no creatur
 Of lokkis nor linkkis mycht louß worth a lence.
 Syne ilk brench and bew bowit thame till;
 And ilk scheild in þat place
 Thair tennent or man wace,
 Or ellis thair allyace, At thair awin will.

600

605

610

XLVIII.

Als hiest in þe crop four helmes full fair,
 And in thair tynnerallis tryd trewly thay beir
 The plesand powin in apert, prowde to repair,
 And als kepit ilk armes þat I said eir;

The powyn.

615

581 A Referris me to harraldis. 582 A of other scheldis. 583 A Sum part. 585 A to wale. 587 A kynde colour thre coddis. 589 A so fair trewe till attend. 590 A The tane and the tother (the one and the other). 591 A quarterly *maid* that nane; maid is omitted in B. 592 A thairof was I fayne. 593 A oft *fandit* with force; B originally: oft *fayand* with; probably instead of: *wes fayand* i. e. was defending, or shifting itself; *wes fayn* is written over the line in B by later hand. (fayn=fayndit, from to *faynd*, *fend* or *fen*, see line 602). 595 A Bure the erll. 599 A Ane nothir erll. 602 A ȝaiepe, ȝong. 605 A War chenȝeit so cheualrus. 606 A Of lokis nor lynx. 607 A ilk braunche and beugh. 609 A Thar tennend or man *was*. 610 A thar allyas. 612 A All thir hieast in the crope. 613 A in thar tymeralis tryid — thai bere. 614 A plesand Povne in a part; B apert i. e. deportment.

The rowch wodwiß wald þat bustounis bare,
 Our growin grysly *and* grym in effeir.
 Mair awfull in all thing saw I nevair,
 Bayth to walk *and* to ward as wechis in weir.
 That terrible felloun my sperit affrayit, 620
 So ferdfull of fantesy,
 I durst nocht kyth to copy
 All vthir airmes thairby, Off renkis arrayit.

II.

fol 307^b Thairfoir of the said tre I tell nocht the tend, 625
 The birth and the brenchis, that blomit so bred:
 Quhat fele armes on loft, luffly to lend,
 Off lordingis in seir landis, gudly and glaid,
 The said pursevand bur, quhair he away wend,
 Off his garment so gay, of ane he hede; 630
 I leif thame blasound to be with herrauldis hend;
 And I will to my mater, as I air maid,
 And begyn, quhair I left, at lordingis dere,
 The court of the empriour,
 How thay come in honour, 635
 Thir fowlis of rigour, With a grit rere.

L.

Than rerit thir merlionis that montis so he,
 Furth borne bechleris bald on the bordouris;
 Busardis, and beld cyttis, as it mycht be, 640
 Soldiouris and subiect men to thay sengeouris.
 The pitill and the pipe gled, cryand pewe,
 Befoir thir princis ay past as pairt of purveyouris,
 For thay culd cheires chikkynis and purchace pultre,
 To cleik fra þe commonis as kingis katouris; 645
 Syne hove houir and behald þe harbry place.
 Robene reid breist nocht ran,
 Bot raid as a henseman;
 And the littill we wran, That wrechit dwerech waß. 650

616 A The ouch Wodwys wyld that *bastounis* bare, H erroneously: that *bustouiss* bare. 617 A grysly and *groue grym* in effeir, B originally also: and *grow grym*, but grow is erased in the Ms 618 A saw I never air. 619 A as watchis in weir. 620 H reads terrable, but the a seems to be corrected into i. A my spreit affrayd. 621 H erroneously feidful, A has ferd full (ferdfull = vigorous). 622 A kyth to opy. 623 A All othir armes thar by. 624 A arayd. 625 A nocht the teynd. 626 A blomyt so brayd. 627 A louely to lend. 628 A lordingis and sere landis; B originally also: *and* seir landis; *and* has been corrected by later hand into *in*. 629 A persewant. 630 A On his garment — ane hie haid. 631 A thaim blasonde — harraldis hende. 632 A to my *first* mater, first omitted in B. 637 A gret reir. 638 A Merljonis that mountis so hie. 639 A borne bacheloris. 640 A Beldkytis. 641 A Soldiouris and *sumptermen*. 642 A cryand pewewe. 643 A as pert purviouris. 644 A For thai couth *chewis* chikinnis and perches pultre. 645 A To cleke — as kyngis caytouris. 646 A Syne hufe hover — herbery place. 647 A Robyn Redbreast. 650 A wretchit dorche was.

LI.

Thair was þe herraldis fa, the hobby, but fable,
 Stanchellis, steropis, stryght to þair sterne lordis,
 With alkin officiaris in erd, avenand and hable.
 So mekle wes the multitud, no mynd it remordis.
 Thus assemblit thir seggis, siris senȝerable, 655
 All þat wer foulis of reif, quha richtly recordis,
 For the temporalite tretit in table;
 The sterne empriouris style thus staitly restord is.
 The paip, and the patriarkis, the prelattis, I wist,
 Welcomit thame wysalie, but weir, 660
 With haly sarmondis seir,
 Pardoun and prayeir, And blythly thame blist.

LII.

The blissit paip in the place prayd thame ilk ane
 To remane to þe meit at the midday; 665
 And thay grantit that gud, but gruching, to gane.
 Than to ane worthelich wane went thair way,
 Passit to a palice of price plesand allane,
 Was erectit ryelly, ryke of array,
 Pantit and apparalit prowldy in pane, 670
 Sylit semely with silk, suthly to say.
 Braid burdis, and benkis, ourbeld with bancouris of gold,
 Cled our with clene clathis,
 Raylit full of riches;
 The esiest wes the arreß, That ȝe se schold. 675

LIII.

All thus thay move to þe meit, and the merschale Falcone merchell.
 Gart bring watter to wesche, of a well cleir:
fol. 308^a That wes þe falcone so fair, frely but faile,
 Bad bernis burdis vpbred, with a blyth chere. 680
 The paip past to his place, in his pontifical;
 The athill empriour annon nycht him neir.
 Kingis and patrearkis, kend with cardynnallis all,
 Addressit thame to þat deß, and dukis so deir.
 Bischopis bownis to þe burd, and merchonis of nichtis; 685

651 A haraldis fra. 652 A Stanchalis — strecht to thai stern lordis. 653 A alkyn officeris — and able.
 655 A segis, syris senȝeurable. 656 A war fowlis of reif, the richt quha recordis. 657 A the Temporalite. 659
 A patriarkis, prelelatis (the omitted in A). 660 A Welcummit thaim *wynly*; B had originally also *wynlie*, but
 this word is corrected into wysalie. 661 A haly sermonis. 662 A prayer. 664 A prayit thaim ilk ane, B originally
 prait. 667 A Than till a wortheliche wane. 668 A Past till a palace, H erroneously *passid*. 669 A Was erekit
 rially. 674 A Raillit — richas. 675 A The esiest was arras. 677 A thai mufe. 679 A was the Falcoune. 680 A
 Bad birnis burdis up braid. 681 A The Pape passit till his place. 682 A anone nechit him. 683 A cardinalis hale.
 684 A thaim to that *deis*. 685 A merschionis, see line 328.

Erlis of honouris,
 Abbottis of ordouris,
 Prouestis, *and* priouris, And mony kene knychtis.

LIV.

Denis, and digneteis, as are demit, 690
 Scutiferis, and squyeris, and bachelaris blyth.
 I preß *nocht* all to report, ȝe hard thame exprimit;
 Bot all wer merchellit to meit mekly and myth,
 Syne seruit semely in sale, forsuth as it semit,
 With all cureis of kost þat cukis coud kyth. 695
 In flesche tyme, quhen the fische wer away flemit,
 Quha was stewart bot þe stork, stalwart *and* styth?
 Syne all þe lentre but les, and the lang rede, stewartis.
 And als in þe aduent,
 The soland stewart was sent; 700
 For he coud fra þe firmament Fang þe fische deid.

LV.

The boytour callit wes cuke, þat him weill kend
 In craftis of the kischin, costlyk of curis. Cuke. 705
 Mony sauourous sawce with sewaris he send,
 And confectionis of forß þat phesick furtʰ furis,
 Mony mane meitis, gife I sall mak end.
 It neidis *nocht* to renew all thair naturis,
 Quhair sic staitis will steir thair styll till ostend;
 ȝe wait all welth and wirschip daily induris. 710
 Syne, at þe middis of þe meit, in come the *menstralis*:
 The maveiß and þe merle singis, menstrualis.
 Osillis and stirlingis, The maveiß.
 The blyth lark þat begynnis, And the nythingalis. The merle.
 The osill. The lark. 715

LVI.

And thair notis in ane, gife I rycht nevin,
 Wer of Mary þe myld; this maner I wiß:
 Hale, temple of the trinite, crownit in hevin! Thair song.
 Hale, mudir of *our* makar, *and* medecyn of miß!
 Hale, succour *and* salue for the synnis sevin! 720
 Hale, but of *our* barret, *and* beld of *our* bliß!
 Hale, grane full of grace þat growis so evin!

690 A Denys and digniteis as *I eir demyt*. 691 A bachilleris. 692 A thaim exprimit. 693 A all war merchellit to meit meikly. 695 A curis of cost. 698 A lentryne but leis, — reid. 701 A he couth fro the firmament. 704 A of the ketchyne. 705 A Many sawouris sals. 706 A confectionis on force that phisik. 707 A Mony man metis gif I suld mak end. 709 A thar stylis till ostend. 710 A all worschip and welth dayly. 715 A the Nychtingales. 716 A thar notis *anone*. gif I richt newyne. 717 this line was originally omitted in B, it is added in the margin by the same hand. 718 A Haile. 719 A Haile moder of our maker. 720 A and salf — sevyne. 721 A bute of our *barret*. 722 A so ewyn.

Ferme our seid to þe set *quhair* thy sone is. Thair song.
 Haill, lady of all ladeis, lichtest of leme!
 Haill, *chalmer* of chestite! 725
 Haill, charbuncle of cherite!
 Haill, blissit mot thow be For thy barne teme!

LVII.

Haill, blissit throch þe bodwird of blith angellis,
 Haill, princes that *compleitis* all profecis pure! 730
 Haill, blyther of the bapteist, *within* thy bowellis,
 Off Elezabeth thy aunt, aganis nature!
 Haill, speciouß most specifeit *with* the spiritualis!
 Haill, ordanit or Adame, and ay to indure,
 Haill, oure hope and *our* help, quhen þat harme ailis! 735
fol. 308b Haill, altare of Eua in ane but vre!
 Haill, well of *our* weilfair! we wait *nocht* of ellis,
 Bot all committis to the,
 Saul and lyfe, ladye!
 Now, for thy fruyte mak ws free Fra feindis þat fell is. 740

LVIII.

Fra thy gree to þis ground lat thy grace glyde,
 As thow art grantare *pairof*, and þe gevare:
 Now, *souerane*, *quhair* thow sittis, by thy sonis syde,
 Send sum succour doun sone to þe synnare. 745
 The feind is *our* felloun ffa; in þe we confyde:
 Thow moder of all *mercy*, and þe menare,
 For ws wappit in wo *in* þis warld wyde;
 To thy sone mak thy mane and thy makar.
 Now, ladye, luke to þe lede, þat þe so lele luifis, 750
 Thow sekir trone of Salomon,
 Thow worthy wand of Aaron,
 Thow joyus flece of Jedion, Vs help þe behufis. end of the sang.

LIX.

All thus *our* ladye þaj lofe, *with* lyking and list, 755
 Menstralis, and musicians, mo than I mene may.
 The psaltery, the cytholis, the soft cytharist, The kyndis of instrumentis.
 The croude, and þe monycordis, þe gythornis gay;
 The rote, and þe recordour, þe ribup, the rist,
 The trump, and þe taburn, þe tympane but tray; 760

724 A all ladyis. 728 B originally barne *tyme*. 729 A Haile. blist throw the bodword. 730 A completis all prophecis pur. 731 A Haile, blythar — thi bowallis. 732 A Elizebeth thi ant. 733 A Haile speciose most specifit. 734 A ay till indur. 735 A harme alis. 736 A Haile, alterar of Eua. 740 A thi frute make ws fre. 741 A Fro fendis. 742 A Fro thi gre. 745 A to the synnir. 746 A The fende. 749 A thi maker. 750 A to the leid tha the so leile lufis. 751 A seker. 753 A fleis of Gedion. 755 A lady thai lovit. 757 A sytholis, sytharist. 758 A the gittyrrnis gay. 759 A the ribupe (Jamieson's Dict. erroneously writes ribus). 760 A trumpe and the talburn.

The lilt pype, and þe lute, þe cithill in fist,
 The dulsate, and þe dulsacordis, þe schalm of assay;
 The amyable organis vsit full oft:
 Clarious loud knellis,
 Portativis, and bellis,
 Symbaclanis in the cellis, þat soundis so [s]oft.

763

LX.

Quhen þaj had sangin and said softly a schoure,
 And playd, as of paradyß it a poynt ware,
 In come japand þe Ja, as a jugloure,
 With castis and with cautelis, a quynt caryare.
 He gart þame see, as it semyt, in þe samin houre:
 Hunting at herdis in holtis so haire;
 Sound sailand on þe see schippis of toure;
 Bernis batalland on burd, brym as a bare;
 He coud carye þe coup of þe kingis des,
 Sync leve in þe stede
 Bot a blak bunwede;
 He coud of a hennis hede Mak a man mes.

The sportaris.

770

775

780

LXI.

He gart þe emperoure trow and trewlyc behald,
 That þe corncraik, the pundare at hand,
 Had poyndit all his priß horß in a poynd fald,
 Becaus þaj eite of þe corn in þe kirkland.
 He coud wirk windaris quhat way þat he wald:
 Mak of a gray guß a gold garland;
 A lang spere of a bittill for a berne bald;
 Noblis of nutschellis, and siluer of sand.
 Thus jowkit with juperteis þe jangland Ja:
 Fair ladyis in ringis,
 Knychtis in caralyngis,
 Bayth dansis and singis; It semyt as sa.

785

790

LXII.

Sa come þe ruke with a rerde and a rane roch,
 A bard out of Irland with banachadee.
 Said: "gluntow guk, dynydrach, hala mischy doch;"

The ruke callit the bard. 795

761 A the fydyll in fist; B distinctly cithill. 762 A The dulset: and is omitted in A. Jamieson erroneously quotes schalin instead of schalm. 764 A Claryonis lowde. 765 A Portatiuis, H Portatisis; in our Ms. the v has been written over, it is v and not s, as it is printed in H (see Jamieson). 766 A Cymbaclanis, B apparently altered in Symbaclanis. 767 A so soft. B so oft. 768 A had songyn — softly and schour. 769 A and playit, B originally plait. 771 A with cawtelis a quaynt caryar, H erroneously reads cantelis, Jamieson's Dict. also cantelis, but it is the OE cautelis = cunnings; quynt, quaynt i. e. OE coint. 772 A gart thaim se 774 A saland on the se schippis of towr. 775 A as a bair. 776 A He couth cary the cowpe. 780 A Make a mane mes (i. e. a main mess. dish). 782 A the Corne Crake. 783 A Had pyndit — in a pundfald. 784 A For caus thai etc. 785 A He couth wirk wounderis. 787 A sper of a betill. 788 A Nobillis. 789 A juperdys. 792 A Boith dansis. 796 A guk dynyd dach hala . . .

Reke hir a rug of þe rost, or scho sall ryve the.
 "Misch makmory, ach mach mountir mochloch;"
 Set hir doun, gif hir drink; quhat deill aylis ȝe?
fol. 309 "O Dermyn, o Donnall, o Dochardy Droch," 800
 Thir ar the Ireland kingis of þe erchrye,
 "O Knewlyn, o Conoquhor, o Gregre Macgrane!"
 The chenachy, þe clarschach,
 The beneschene, þe ballach,
 The crekrye, the corach, Scho kennis þame ilk ane. 805

LXIII.

Monye lesingis he maid; wald lat ffor na man
 To speke, quhill he spokin had, sparit no thingis.
 The dene rurall, the ravin, reprevit him þan,
 Bad him his lesingis leue befor þaj lordingis. 810
 The bard wox branewod, and bitterlye coud ban,
 How corby messinger, quop he, with sorow now singis;
 Thow ischit out of Noyis ark, and to þe erd wan,
 Tareit as tratour, and brocht na tadingis.
 I sall rywe þe, ravin, bayth guttis and gall. 815
 Than þe dene rurall worth rede,
 Stall for schame of þe stede.
 The bard held a grit plede In þe hie hall.

LXIV.

In come twa flyrand ffulis with a foud fare: The fulis. 820
 The tuquheit and þe gukkit golk, and ȝede biddie giddie;
 Rwischit bayth to þe bard, and ruggit his hare;
 Callit him thriß thevisnek, to thraw in a widdie.
 Thaj fylit him fra þe foir top to þe fute þare:
 The bard, smaddit lyke a smaik smorit in a smiddie, 825
 Ran fast to þe dur, and gaif a grite raire;
 Socht watter to wesch him þairout in ane ydy.
 The lordis leuch vpoun loft, and lyking þaj had,
 That þe bard was so bet.
 The folis foud in þe flet, 830
 And monye mowis at mete On þe flur maid.

797 A Raikie hir — ryiue the. 798 A Mich macmory ach mach mometir moch loch. 799 A quhat Dele alis the? 800 A O Deremyne. 801 A Thir ar his Irland kingis of the Irischerye, H erroneously Erchyre. 802 A o Conochor — Makgrane. 804 A The Ben schene. 805 A The Crekery. 807 A wald let for no man 809 A reprovit him. 810 A lesingis leif befor. 811 A The barde worth brane wod. 814 A Taryit as a tratour — na tythingis. 815 A I sall ryiue the, ravyne. 816 A The dene rurale worthit reid. 817 A Stawe — of the steid. 818 A a grete pleid. 820 A a fonde fair. 821 A The Tuchet — and ȝeid hiddy giddy. 822 A Ruschit baith, B originally wischit, but it is corrected by later hand into Rwischit; A his hair. 823 A in a widdy. 824 A fylit fra the fortope; him is omitted in A. 825 A in a smedy. 826 A a gret rair. 828 A leuch apon. 830 A The fulis fonde.

LXV.

Syne for a figonale of frutt þaj strave *in* þe stede;
 The tuquheit gird to þe golk, and gaif him a fall.
 Raiff his taill fra his heid, *with* a rathe pleid. 835
 The golk gat vp agane *in* þe grit hall,
 Tit þe tuquheit be þe tope and owirtirwit his heid,
 Flang him flat *in* þe fyre, fedderis and all.
 He cryit, allace, *with* a rair, revin is my reid!
 I am vngretiouslye gorrit, bayth guttis and gall: 840
 .ʒit he lope fra þe low lycht in [a] lyne.
 Quhen þaj had remyllis raucht,
 Thai foirthocht þat þaj facht;
 Kissit syne and sacht, And satt down syne. 845

LXVI.

All thus þir athillis in hall herlie remanit,
 With all welthis at wiß, and wirschip to waill:
 The pape beginnis to grace, as greablie ganit;
 Wisch *with* þir wirthyis, and went to counsale. 850
 The pur howlattis appele compleitlie was planit,
 His falt and his foull forme, vnfrelie but fale;
 For þe quhilk þir lordis in lede nocht to lane it,
 He besocht of socour, as souerane *in* saile,
 That þai wald pray nature his present to renewe;
 For it was hale his beheste, 855
 At þair alleris requeste,
 Mycht dame nature areste Of him for to rewe.

LXVII.

Than rewit thir ryallis of þat rath man,
 Bayth spirituale and temperale, þat kennit the cas; 860
 And considerand the cauß, concludit *in* ane,
fol. 309^b. That þaj wald nature beseke of hir grit grace,
 To discend þat samin *hour* as þair souerane,
 At þair alleris instance, in þat ilk place.
 The pape and þe patriarkis, þe prelatis ilk ane, 865
 Thus pray thaj as penitent, and all þat þair was.
 Quhairthrow dame nature þe traist descendit þat tyde,
 At þair haile instance;

832 A On the flure. 833 A of frut thai straif in the steid, H reads fruct. 834 A The Tuchet gird. 835 A *rig* instead of *heid*. 836 A gat wpe. 837 and is omitted in A; A tope ourtirvit his hed. 838 A fetheris and all. 839 A He cryid — a rair, revyn. 840 A ungraciously. 841 A ʒit he lap fra the lowe richt in a lyne; B in lyne. 842 A had remelis. 843 A thai faucht. 844 A Kissit samyn and saucht. 845 A sat dovne syne. 846 A thir hathillis in hall heirly remanit. 847 A worschipe to vale. 848 A begynniss the grace. 849 A Wosche with thir worthyis — to counsall. 850 A the pure Howlatis — completly. 851 A vnfrelly but faile. 852 A in leid nocht to layne it. 853 A of sucour. 854 A Natur his prent to renewe. 855 A it was haile. 857 Natur arrest. 859 A rath mane. 860 A that kend the case. 862 A Natur beseike. 864 A thar allaris. 866 A as penitentis. 867 Natur the trast.

Quham þaj resawe *with* reuerance,
 And bowsum obeysance, As goddes and gyde. 870

LXVIII.

It nedis *nocht*, *quoþ* nature, to renewe ocht
 Off *your* entent in þis tyde, or forthir to tell;
 I waitt *your* will, and quhat way ze wald þat I wrocht
 To reasoun þe houlate, of faltis full fell. 875
 It sall be done, as ze deme, drede ze *rycht* nocht:
 I consent in þis caiß to *your* counsell.
 Sen my self for *your* sake hidder hes socht,
 Ze salbe specialye sped, or I mair spell:
 Now ilk foull of þe firth a feddir sall ta, 880
 And len þe houlat, sen ze
 Off him hes pitie;
 And I sall gar thame samyn be To grow, or I ga.

LXIX.

Than ilk a foull of his flicht a fethir has tane, 885
 And lent þe houlat in haste, hurtly but hone.
 Dame nature þe nobillest nychit in ane,
 For to ferm this fetherem, and dewly hes done;
 Gert it ground, and grow gaylye and gane
 On þe samyn houlat, semelye and sone. 890
 Than was þe schand of his schaip, and his schroud schane,
 Off all coloure maist clere beldit abone:
 The fairest foull of þe firth, and hendest of hewis;
 So clene, and so colourike,
 þat no bird was him lyke, 895
 Fro byron to berwike, Vnder þe bewis.

LXX.

Thus was þe houlat in herd herely at hicht,
 Flour of all foulis, throw fetheris so faire,
 He lukit to his licame [that] lemyt so *lycht*, 900
 So proper plesand of prent, proud to repaire.
 He *thocht* [him] maid on the mold makles of *mycht*,
 As souerane him awin self throw beautie he baire,
 Counterpalace *with* þe pape, our princis, I plicht;

869 A Quhom thai ressaif — reuerens. 870 A bowsome. 872 A to renewe oucht. 874 A I wait. 875 A To reforme the Howlat; in B reasoun may also be read reason, the u seems to be erased. 876 A dreid ze richt nocht. 877 A caise, counsell. 878 A saike hiddir has socht. 879 A Ze sall be specially sped, or ze mayr spell. 880 A ilka foull. 882 A Off him haue sic pete; sic is omitted in B. 885 A ilk foule — a fedder. 886 A lent to the Howlat in hast hartlie but hone. 887 A nechit in ane. 888 A ferme this federem; this is written twice in B; dewly was originally doly in B, it has been altered. 889 A Gart it ground and growe gayly agane. 891 A was he schand of his schape. 892 A Of alkyn colour most cleir. 893 A The farest foule — of hewes. 894 A so colourlyke. 896 A Fro Burone. 897 A Wnder the bewes. 899 A fedderis. 900 A his lykame; that is omitted in B. 901 A So propir — provide to repar. 902 him is omitted in B. 903 A him awne self throw bewte he bair. 904 A Counterpalace to the Pape.

So hielie he hyit him in luciferis laire, 905
 That all þe foulis of þe firth he defoulit syne.
 Thus lete he no *man* his pere;
 Gif ony nygh wald him nere,
 He bad þame rebaldis oreir, With a ruyne. 910

LXXI.

The paip, and the patriarkis, *and* princis of prow,
 I am cumin of thair blud, be cousingage knawin;
 So fair is my fetherem I haif no fallow,
 My schroud *and* my schene weid schyre to be schawin.
 All birdis he rebalkit, þat wald him nocht bow, 915
 In breth as a battell, wrycht full of bost blawin,
 With vnloveable latis nocht till allow.
 Thus viciit he þe valantene, thraly and thrawin,
fol. 310^a That all the foulis *with* assent assemblit agane,
 And plengeit to natur 920
 Off this intollerable iniure:
 How the howlat him bure So he and so hautane,

LXXII.

So pompeous, impertinax, and reprouable,
 In excessis our arrogant; thir birdis ilk ane 925
 Besocht natur to ceiß that insufferable.
 þat *with* þat lady allyt lewch hir allane:
 My first making, *quop* scho, wes vnamendable,
 Thocht I alterit, as ȝe all askit in ane;
 Jit sall I preif ȝow to pleiß, sen it is possible. 930
 Scho callit þe howlat in haist, þat was so hautane:
 Thy pryd, *quop* þe princes, approchis our he,
 Lyke lucifer in estait;
 And sen thow art so elait.
 As the evangelist wrait, Thow sall law be. 935

LXXIII.

The rent, and the riches, that thow in rang,
 Wes of vþir menis all, and nocht of thyne awin;
 Now ilk fowll his awin feddir sall agane fang,
 And mak the catyve of kynd, to thy self knawin. 940
 As scho hes demyt, thay haif done thraly in thrang.
 Thair *with* dame natur hes to þe hevin drawin,
 Ascendit sone, in my sicht, *with* solace *and* sang.

905 A Luciferis lair. 907 A Thus leit he — his peir. 908 A Gif ony *nech* — *neir*. 909 A orere. 912 A I am cummyin of thar *kyn* (instead of *blud*). 913 A I haf no falowe. 914 A My schrowde — *schir* to be schawin. 916 A as a batall, wricht. 917 A vnloveable. 918 A Thus wycit he the walentyne. 921 A injur. 923 A So hie and so haltane. 924 A So pompos, impertinat. 925 A In excres. 926 A to ces that vnsufferable. 927 A Thar with that lady a lyte leuch, B That with, see line 937: that in. 931 A so haltane. 932 A our hie. 934 A so elate. 938 A Was of othir mennis — of thi awne. 939 A fowle his awne fedder. 940 A mak the catif of kynd *till him* self.

And ilk foule tuke the flicht, and schortly to schawin,
 Held hame to thair hant, and to *pair* harbry, 945
 Quhair thay wer wont to remane,
 All thir gudly and gane;
 And thair leuit allane The houlat and I.

LXXIV.

Than this howlat, hidouß of hair and of hyde, 950
 Put first fra pouerty to priß, and princis awin peir,
 Syne degradit fra grace, for his grit pryd,
 Bannyt bittirly his birth belfully in beir:
 He welterit, he wrythit, he wareit the tyd,
 That he wes wrocht in this warld, wofull in weir; 955
 He criplit, he cryngit, he cairfully cryd,
 He solpit and sorrowit in sichingis seir;
 He said, allace, I am lost, lathest of all,
 Bysym in bale beft:
 I may be sample heir eft, 960
 That pryd zit nevir left His feir but a fall.

LXXV.

I coud *nocht* won in to welth, wrech wayest,
 I wes so wantoun in will, my werdis ar wan;
 Thus for my hicht I am hurt, *and* harmit in haist, 965
 Carfull and catife for craft þat I can.
 Quhen I wes of hevit as heir all thill hiest,
 Fra rewill, ressone, and *rycht* redles I *ran*;
 Thairfoir I ly in the lymb, lympet, the lathaist:
 Now mek your mirroure be me, all *maner* of man, 970
fol. 310^b Je princis, prelattis of pryd, for pennyis and prow
 That pullis the pure ay,
 Je sall sing as I say,
 All your welth will away, Thus I werne 3ow! 975

LXXVI.

Think how bair thow wes borne, and bair ay will be,
 For ocht that sedis of thy self, in ony seson;
 Thy cud, thy claithis, thy coist *cumis* *nocht* of the,
 Bot of the frutt of the erd, and godis fusion;
 Quhen ilka thing hes the awin, suthly we se 980

944 A the flicht, schortly to; and is omitted in A. 945 A and thar herbery. 946 Quhar thai war. 947 A gudly ar gane. 948 A thar leuit. 950 A hidowis of hair. 951 A fro povert to pryce and princis awne per. 953 A bailefull in beir. 954 A he waryit the tyde. 956 A He crepillit, he crengit. 957 A He solpit he sorowit in sighingis seir. 959 A Bysyn in baile beft; Jam. erroneously quotes best. 960 A sampill. 961 A That pryde neuer zit left. 963 A wretch that I wast. 964 A wantoun of will. 966 A Cairfull and caytif. 967 A I was hewit as heir all thir hieast. 968 A Fra rule, ressoun. 669 A in the lyme lympit lathast (instead of: *the* lathaist). 970 A Now mark your mirour. 971 A Je princis, *prencis* of pryde for penneis and prow. 975 A Thus I warn 3ow. 977 A For oucht — sessoun. 978 A Thy cude, thy claithis, nor thi cost cummis. 979 A and Goddis fusoun. 980 A ilk thing has the awne.

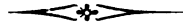
Thy nakit corß bot of clay, a foule carion,
 Hatit and hafles; quhairof art thou he?
 We cum pure, we gang pure, bath king and common;
 Bot thou reüll the richtouß, thy rowme sall ourrere:
 Thus said the houlat on hicht. — 955
 Now, god, for thy grit nicht,
 Sett our saulis in sicht Off sanctis so seire!

LXXVII.

Thus for a dow of dumbar drew I this dyte,
 Dowit with a Dowglaß, and baith wer thay dowis, 990
 In the forrest foirsaid, frely perfyte,
 Of terway, tendir and tryd, quho so trest trowis.
 Wer my wit as my will, than suld I weill wryt;
 Bot gif [I] lak in my leid, that noch till allow is,
 Æe wise, for your wi[r]schip, wryth me no wyte. 995
 Now blyth ws the blist barne, that all bern bowis;
 He len ws lyking and lyfe euirlestand! —
 In mirthfull moneth of may,
 In middis of murray,
 Thus in a tyme, be ternway, Hapnit Holland. 1000

Explicit.

982 A Hatit and hawles, quhar of art thou he. 983 A baith king and commoun. 984 A Bot thou reule the richtuis, thi rowme sall *ore*; B *ourere* (over-reren, to raise) may also be read *ourere* in the Ms. 986 A for his gret nicht. 988 A so sere. 989 A for ane Dow of Dunbar. 990 A with ane Douglas and boith war thay dowis. 991 A forest forsaid. 992 A Of Terneway — so trast trowis. 993 A suld I wele wryte. 994 I is omitted in B. 995 A Æe wyse for your worschipe. 997 A lyf euerlastand. 1000 A Thus on a tyme. 1001 A Happinnit Holland. — In A there is added at the end of the poem: Heir endis the Buke of the Howlat. Scriptum per manum M. Joannis Asloan.



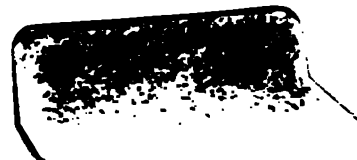
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